

**THE MAN
FROM MONDAY**
see page 1247

NATIONAL REVIEW

AFL-CIO Chief Blasts McGovern

LABOR, From A1

Meeting seemed to find McGovern's foreign policy stands almost as unpopular as his stance on Vietnam. Both Democratic and Republican administrations, the labor union said, have failed to bring about a settlement of

Teddy Says McGov Made George a Meany

Wished McGovern well and sorry, for they are very close friends. But Kennedy quite obviously is business with Meany. Kennedy made a call on Meany the first day he was in office. As Kennedy saw it, McGovern should have put on a sport coat and come to work.

Nick Thimmesch

Midwest Snubs McGovern

Chicago—It will take plenty for the eminently sensible Midwest to change its mind about George McGovern. With six full years of McGovern's leadership, the Midwest is not likely to change its mind.

Even His 'Best State' Wavers on McGovern

By R. W. APPLE JR.
Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, Sept. 16—By all Boston, who is traveling in Massachusetts should be Europe with Team Canada—the senator George McGovern's best all-star National Hockey League team in the November election squad. At least one of his best. Some ethnic politicians are it is perhaps the most liberal unhappy that Massachusetts' is in the country, with both four national committee members now include three Jews and one black. It is a militantly antiwar state. It is the home state of the Kennedy family. But such difficulties amount to little, it would seem. Mr. McGovern speaks for many when he says, "It's not a question of organization, it's a question of public officials—including this around." If Mr. McGovern can do so, the Republican Governor, Francis S. Sargent, have never had a president.

Poisoned Ivy— McGovern's Campus Support

By Everett Carl Ladd and Seymour Martin Lipset

"...The academic community appears on the verge of giving McGovern its smallest margin over Republicans in 30 years."

The Prodigal Son: Come Home George McGovern

No modern Presidential ticket except Goldwater's has fared so badly among its own.

Announcing: Democrats for Nixon.

We're not leaving the party. But we cannot support Senator McGovern.

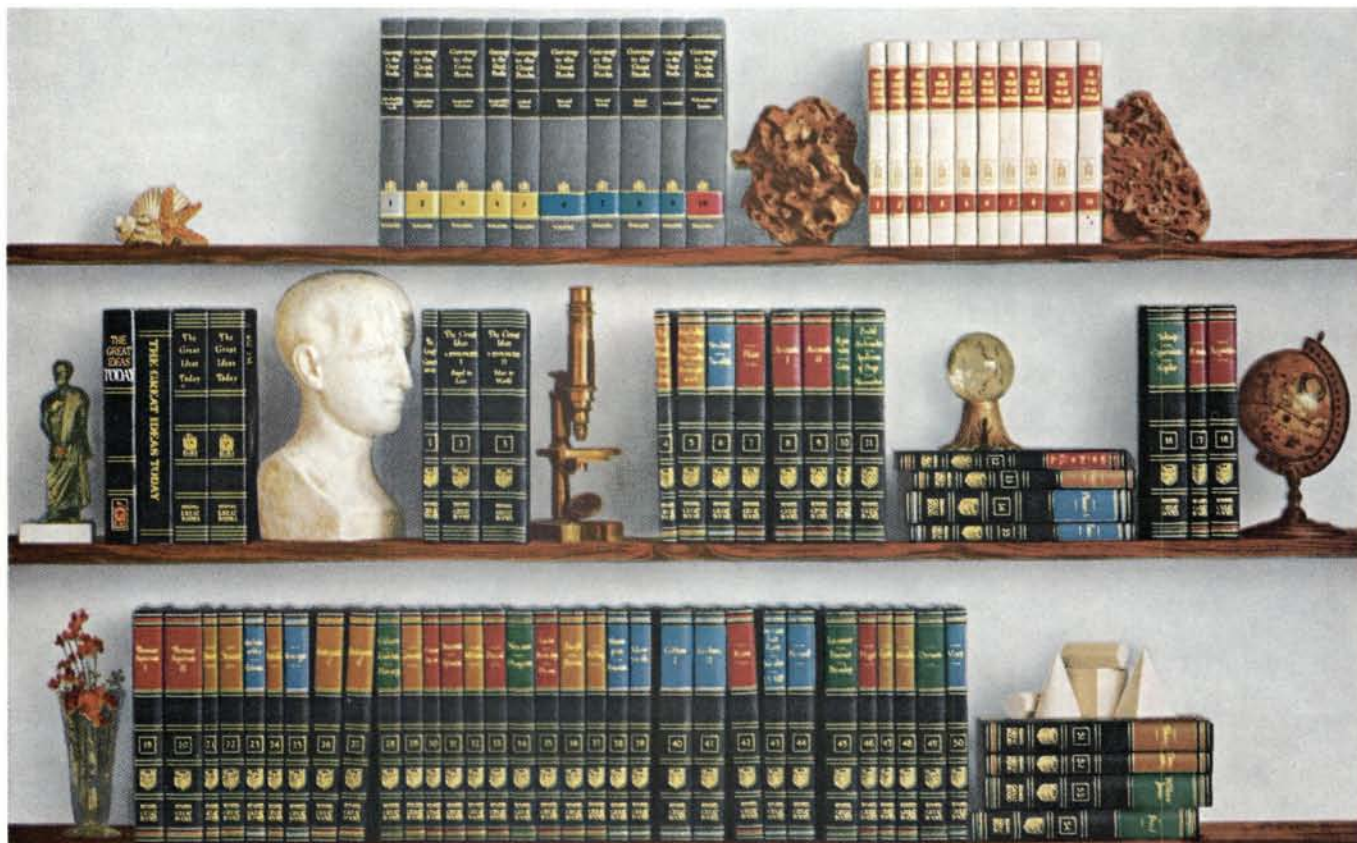
The nomination of Senator McGovern has placed many Democrats in a difficult position. Some say the choice is between our party and our country. We have a choice to make.

McGovern's Incredible Credibility Gap

George McGovern has been spoiled by success, argues this White House aide. The Prairie Populist's once-firm stands on major issues have been tainted by the inconsistencies, and the Miami Beach expediences have left him politically unbalanced.

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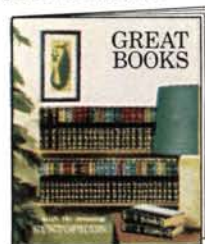
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GREAT BOOKS

Two religious psychiatrists break new ground

Their insights from Thomas Aquinas and Freud help cure troubled people—and show normal men, women and children how to realize their full potential

Loving and Curing The Neurotic

Anna A. Terruwe, M.D. & Conrad W. Baars, M.D.

496 pages • glossary • illustrations • index • bibliography

From a review by Father Thomas Cosgrove, C.S.S.R., in Liguorian:

Anna A. Terruwe, M.D., and Conrad A. Baars, M.D., both internationally esteemed psychiatrists, blend their wisdom with the insights of a contemporary moral theologian, the medieval psychology of St. Thomas Aquinas, and the vital teachings of Freud, and produce a balanced and integrated psychological study. Karl Stern predicted in 1954, in his book, *The Third Revolution*, that psychiatry and religion were complementary, and that when they began to understand one another, they would be wedded. This new book is a strong sign not only that this idea is true, but that it is an "idea whose time has come." . . . To anybody familiar with the real or supposed feud between Catholic orthodoxy and modern psychiatry, this book should be a refreshing breakthrough. . . .

The authors do not agree with the commonly heard expression, "After all, everybody is a little crazy," or, "All of us are neurotics." They do not hold that neurotics are crazy in the crass sense of that term. But they further believe that not all people are neurotic. The doctors use the words "original sin," and indicate that they recognize that nobody is emotionally perfect, but this does not constitute the neurotic personality. They infer, despite the growing number of neurotics, that the majority of people are normal rather than so afflicted. The pages all read with optimism, conveying the idea that most neurotics can be cured, and all can be helped to the point of living useful lives. Early detection of the first symptoms in the child can prevent the disease from developing at all.

Not only Catholics, but Christians and Jews, who regret the new morality that encourages promiscuity, divorce, abortion, and contraception, will find this book encouraging. Without preaching, the authors go deeply into the causes of unbalanced and erratic behavior. They discuss violence in the neurotic, and assure us that it is very rare. They probe the most common imbalance of sexuality but without giving the impression that all neuroses are rooted in sex. Finally, they are skillful in detecting disease when it shows itself with less obvious and sensational symptoms. The entire text, though staunchly scientific, is written in a tone of love, compassionate regard, and hopeful expectation of aiding the neurotic to recover completely.

Reading *Loving and Curing the Neurotic* will not be as easy as rushing through *Airport* or *Love Story*. But to anybody with a curious bent toward the psychological, it will be a gripping experience. It is not written in technical language, and anybody with a high-school education can, with some discipline, read it, and will find his interest growing with each chapter. The authors mention their desire to include the layman in their insights, since most, if not all of us, are called upon at times to be therapists, whether we desire it or not. This book will not turn amateurs into experts, but it will make us aware of the complexity of the human mind, and how professional help is often needed when disorder develops.

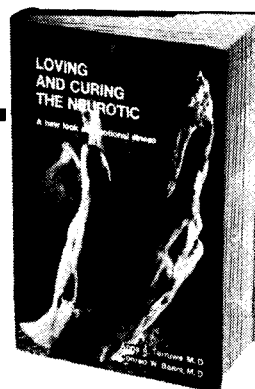
Who should read it?

Surely social workers, priest counselors, teachers and guidance experts would profit from this volume. However qualified or educated they may be, it is probable that they will be further enlightened, and if discouraged, heartened by what these authors have to say.

Parents of small children or teen-agers might well study this book in lieu of reading "quickie" manuals or pamphlets that give five easy ways of detecting behavior

problems and five easy ways of correcting them. The depth of the book will prevent them from too easily deciding that their children are suffering from neurosis or, on the other hand, from too easily dismissing the idea that it is possible. In reading, you may well discover that you are more normal than you secretly thought yourself to be. For, as I have said, the authors do not suggest neurosis is as inevitable in adults as chicken pox used to be in children.

The expertise of the authors in the psychiatric field is really too vast to describe. . . . *Loving and Curing the Neurotic* offers over 400 pages of "thoughts that can mend."



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NR-493

Name
Address
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Contributors

Aram Bakshian Jr. ☐ C. D. Batchelor ☐ Ruth Berenson ☐ Colm Brogan
David Brudnoy ☐ John R. Coyne Jr. ☐ John Chamberlain ☐ Richmond Crinkley
Anthony R. Dolan ☐ Charles Foley ☐ Neal Freeman ☐ Max Geltman ☐ Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley ☐ Suzanne La Follette ☐ Jared Lobdell ☐ Sir Arnold Lunn ☐ Vincent Miller
Gerhart Niemeyer ☐ Daniel Oliver ☐ Stefan T. Possony ☐ Morrie Ryskind
William S. Schlamm ☐ Tibor Szamuely ☐ Alec Waugh ☐ Auberon Waugh
Peter P. Witonski ☐ Frederick D. Wilhelmsen

Foreign Contributors

Anthony Lejeune *London* ☐ E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich* ☐ Elspeth Huxley *African Affairs*
Taki Theodoracopulos *Athens* ☐ Donald Coxé *Guelph, Ontario* ☐ Elena Ossa *Santiago*

NATIONAL REVIEW

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IN THIS ISSUE . . .

As Election Day looms, **M. Stanton Evans** finds the Nixon landslide roaring down the mountain right on schedule. But after a state-by-state, district-by-district survey, he predicts trouble for many Republican congressional and senatorial hopefuls: For whatever reason, President Nixon is keeping his coattails tucked under him. It all reminds Mr. Evans, and us, of an earlier one-man landslide: the Eisenhower victory of 1956, which left Congress firmly under Democratic control. As a journalist (Editor, *Indianapolis News*), Mr. Evans is fascinated; as a political activist (Chairman, American Conservative Union), he is concerned. . . . George McGovern seems obsessed with "tax loopholes" that allegedly benefit the wicked rich. Economist **Alan Reynolds** de-mythologizes those loopholes, and goes on to propose some *real* tax reform. . . . A Vietnam ceasefire appears almost as imminent as the re-election of President Nixon. The dominoes, who never stopped believing the Domino Theory, are worried. Professor **Justus van der Kroef**, an old Southeast Asia hand, explains why and suggests what's to be done. . . . **Victor Gold**, press secretary to Vice President Agnew and a longtime admirer of the one-two punch, pays his respects to the indefatigable, unstoppable, all but unhangupable-on John D. Lofton, who's made the Republican National Committee's newsletter not only readable but talked-about. —CHS

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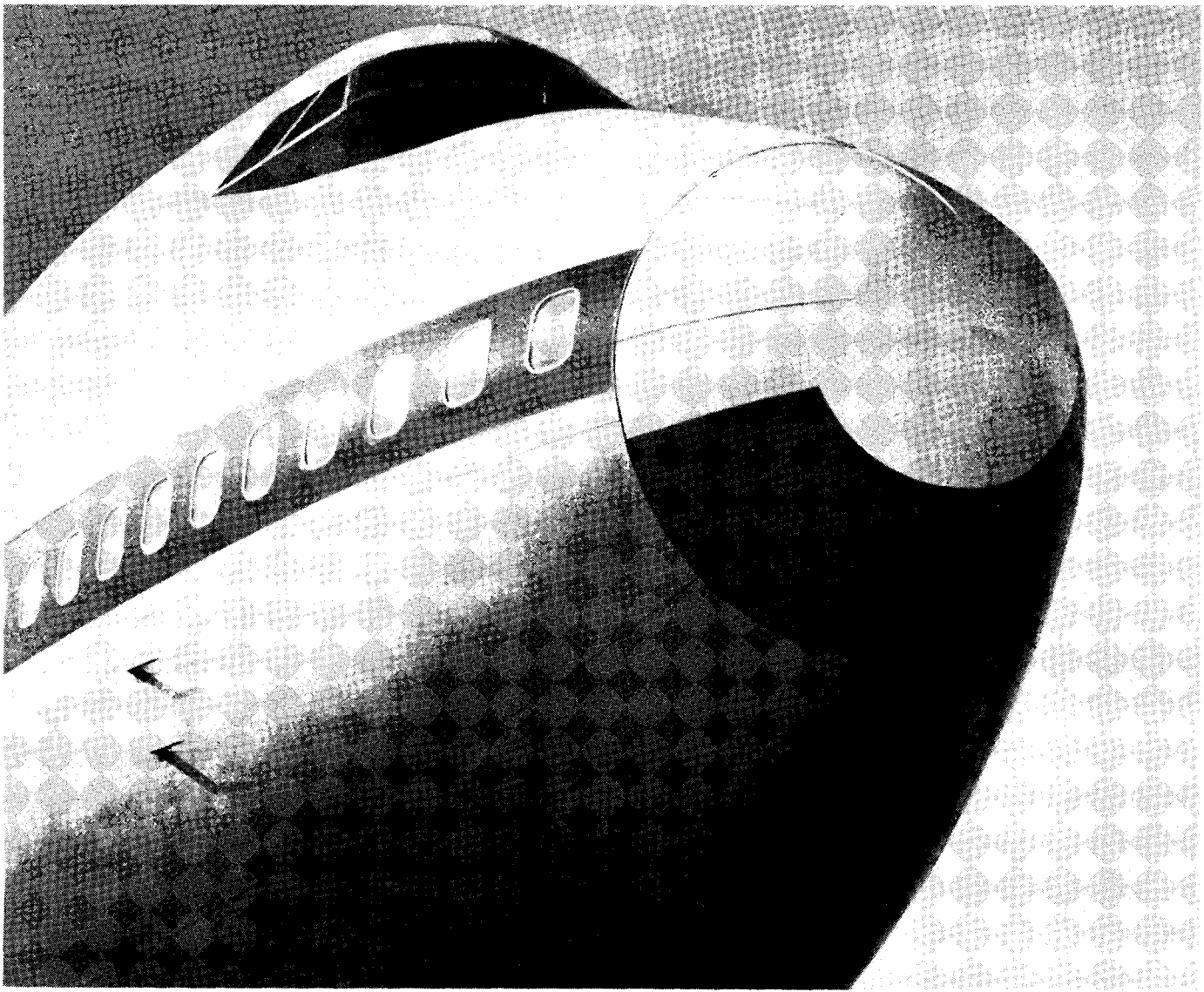
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But to accomplish all this takes money—a \$6-billion commitment so far. And the money depends on earnings. Yet in only one year since 1961 have the major airlines earned what the Civil Aeronautics Board has determined to be a "fair

and reasonable" return. And most years they haven't come near that mark.

Even with the 2.7 percent fare increase recently granted by the CAB, airline earnings this year are expected to be less than one-third of the CAB standard.

How can we maintain the pace of progress you're used to? You can help by understanding the challenges and problems. For facts about the airline industry, write: Air Transport Association of America, Dept. 105, 1709 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

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The Shortest Distance Between People

FOR THE RECORD

■ What's everyone talking about? Who will take over the Democratic Party after Nov. 7? and how? Bound to go when the Democratic National Committee meets Dec. 9, **McGovern's** hand-picked chairperson **Jean Westwood** ("I'm the new chairbroad," she said at Miami) and her team. It will be battle royal with McGovernites trying to hold on, and **Teddy Kennedy** moving in to place his own men in control of party machinery. . . . Kennedy, doing a **Nixon**, was on campaign trail three and four days every week before Congress adjourned, stepped up his campaigning in final two weeks, piling up IOUs for the future from hard-pressed Democratic candidates around the country. . . . Even McGovern's own team admitting it's all up. **Edmund Muskie**, campaigning for McGovern in Scranton, Pa. last week, let slip that McGovern was facing "hopeless odds." . . . McGovern Southwest coordinator **Rick Inderfurth**, noting that Nixon is leading McGovern in Oklahoma, where the registration is 4 to 1 Democratic, commented: "The hill may be too steep to climb." . . . **Richard Scammon**, who was JFK's feeler of pulses, agrees with **Evans & Novak** that if the election had been held in mid-October, Nixon would have taken all fifty states; E&N add that he may yet. . . . Final blow was **Gallup** poll that showed McGovern leading Nixon by only two points among college crowd (49 to 47) whereas in July it was McGovern 61 to Nixon's 35 per cent. . . . But not at **Harvard**, fair Harvard. Straw poll of faculty and students at the law school gives McGovern a 6 to 1 lead over Nixon.

■ In one of ironies of the year **Thomas Eagleton** is emerging as a hero on the campaign trail. He's received ninety thousand letters, says his staff, all but two hundred friendly, and so many well-wishers are calling him that he's had to get an unlisted phone number.



Peterson, Vancouver Sun Ben Roth Agency

"You think you've got trouble now, big boy—when women's lib really takes over you're going to have to eliminate all references to the male and female genders in the French language!"

. . . And still McGovern suffers from credibility gap. The kind of thing that hurts him, says **Louis Harris**, is, for instance, going to Boston and helping in the campaign of Congresswoman **Louise Day Hicks** (who got to Congress in the first place on an antibusing stand)—and poor staff work. Mayor **Kevin White** of Boston called seven times to offer his help on the campaign before McGovern staffers even took the call. . . . In the other presidential campaigns: **John Schmitz** of the American Party has taken to calling the Democratic and Republican Parties, "Socialist Party A" and "Socialist Party B." . . . **Angela Davis** is on the campaign trail for Communist Party presidential candidate **Gus Hall**. . . . And **Benjamin Spock**, of the People's Party, is touring the country at his own expense, which, says his campaign coordinator **Jim McClenna**, "probably makes him [Spock] our largest contributor."

■ With Congress out, the **American Security Council** has come out with its National Security listing. Of the nineteen senators who rated zero, only one, **Mark Hatfield** (Ore.) was a Republican.

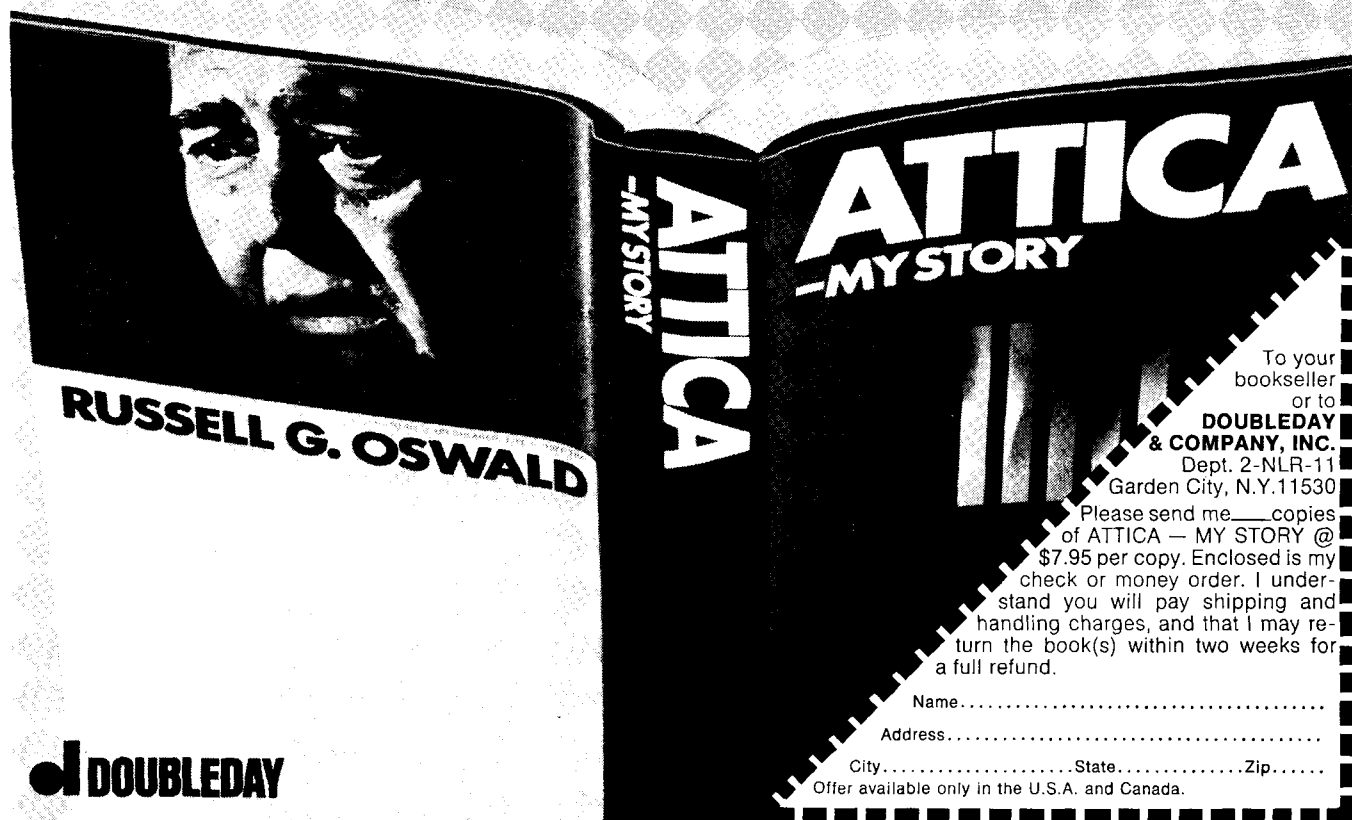
Other GOP low-scorers: **Javits** (20), **Case** (22), **Brooke** (33) and **Mathias** (38). . . . Watch for an accelerated drive in the next Congress for an antibusing amendment, since liberal Democrats succeeded in blocking antibusing bill this time around.

■ In Tripoli, Col. **Muammar Qaddafi** has ordered the ancient penalty restored for burglary. Anyone over eighteen caught in a theft will have his right hand chopped off; the penalty for armed robbery is loss of the left foot as well. . . . In Zaire (formerly the Congo) President **Mobutu** has ordered five-year prison sentences for any priest who baptizes a child with a Christian name. . . . And the latest in **Uganda** is that foreigners arriving by car must transfer to Uganda-owned cars at the border for travel within the country. . . . Want to know how much **Fidel Castro** makes? He promised a month's salary to help the Algerian land reform program. The check was for \$650.

■ The winner, **Daniel Ellsberg**, of the American Political Science Association's Pi Sigma Alpha award for the best paper at the 1970 meeting, "Escalating in a Quagmire." . . . **Donald Ridenour**, a California university administrator, says enrollment in black studies and other ethnic courses is way down. He prophesies they will disappear entirely in a few years' time. . . . Money does talk. Yale President **Kingman Brewster** says hereafter relatives of Yale alumni will be given "the benefit of the doubt" in admission policies. Why? Because, very simply, the adoption of a "no-favoritism policy" in the Sixties "has hurt Yale financially."

■ How the **Kremlin** takes care of its drug problem. Any young person caught lighting up and turning on—will have to go back to the end of the waiting list for cars.

**The lawyers, reporters,
prisoners and guards
have had their say.
Now find out what it was
like to be the
man in the middle.**



LETTERS

Election: In Texas . . .

Congratulations to Val Victorson for his excellent story on Hank Grover, Republican nominee for governor of Texas ["The View from Texas," Sept. 15]. Senator Grover is the best thing that has happened to Texas since Reconstruction. Grover is a welcome breath of fresh air and constructive government.

This is the year of the Ethical Man, even in Texas, and Grover will win in spite of his party's so-called leadership.
Washington, D.C. RICKI GERGER

Mr. Victorson calls the La Raza Unida Party militant. I think he is borrowing the epithet from one of the San Antonio newspapers. To my knowledge, since La Raza started, it has never deserved that title, unless you plan to label any third party militant.

Mr. Victorson goes on to say that La Raza backed Frances Farenthold in her bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination against Dolph Briscoe. Had Mr. Victorson been near the Democratic primary at that time he would have known that although Mrs. Farenthold asked that La Raza endorse her, it did not. In fact, she has been heard to say that the lack of the La Raza endorsement cost her the nomination.
Dallas, Tex. JUDITH ELFENBEIN

Mr. Victorson's article, "The View from Texas," is misleading to say the least. He very carefully failed to give some pertinent facts about the real situation in the Texas Republican Party and about Henry Grover's campaign.

1. Grover was not the only Democrat-turned-Republican in the May primary. David Reagan, the young (33) college professor who came in a close third in the primary, switched parties in 1968.

2. Grover's campaign manager in Houston was Mrs. Nancy Palm, who also happens to be Harris County Republican Party Chairman. During the campaign she made no attempt to remain neutral, but did her best to keep less-well-known candidates from campaigning in Harris County.

3. Once he won the primary, Grover immediately set out to divide the party by attacking its leadership and demanding their resignations. He made no attempt to conciliate his opponents. It was either his way or no way. "Napalm Nancy" made some remarks about Senator Tower at the state convention that were calculated to split the party even more.

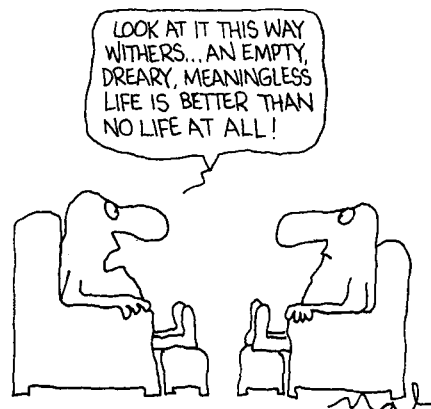
I will vote for Grover since anything is better than Briscoe. (As my younger sister said, "Texas has managed to do without a governor for four years, so we can afford to stand two more.") But I am thoroughly disillusioned with the divisive tactics of Henry Grover. I had thought better of him.

Henderson, Tex. PAULEA PATTERSON

. . . and Elsewhere

I must take exception to the "Letter from Washington" in the September 29 issue of *NR*; the author's treatment of Sen. James Pearson shows none of the political awareness I usually note in the magazine.

The author seems to think that Sen. Pearson does not serve his constituency. He notes that Pearson is on the Foreign Relations Committee, "which is of no use to Kansas." I would advise Cato to consider the value of Kansas' yearly wheat



exports and the relation of agricultural import policies to the Kansas market.

The author neglects to mention that Pearson also serves on the Aviation Subcommittee of the Commerce Committee, and the aircraft industry is quite important to Kansas. The Commerce Committee also deals with transportation, and Pearson has been instrumental in efforts regarding the adequacy of rail transportation for Kansas products.

I believe it is quite clear what Sen. Pearson does in the Senate: He serves his constituency. Anyone who takes time to study his voting record, as I have, should come to the same conclusion. The only reason that Pearson lacks the "charisma" that Cato refers to is that the Senator is more interested in making laws than in making noise.

Hutchinson, Kan. JAN C. GIMAR

I would like to take exception to the im-

plication given in Cato's "Letter from Washington" [Sept. 29] that the Oklahoma Democratic nominee for the Senate, Ed Edmondson, is a "good" candidate or a conservative. True, since he started campaigning he has been engaged in a calculated attempt to drive his ACA and ADA ratings to the conservative side, but he cannot hide his true voting record. Since Cato compares Ed so favorably against Fred Harris, let's match their records before Ed's superficial shift:

ACA Liberal Rating, Aug. '71—Ed: 86; Fred: 90; AFL-CIO Big Labor Rating—Ed: 100; Fred 78; ACA Pro-Inflation Vote—Ed: 95; Fred: 90; Nixon Veto Support—Ed: 0; Fred: 0; ACA Big-Government Rating (for centralized gov't)—Ed: 87; Fred: 86; ACA Government-Ownership-of-Property Rating—Ed: 93; Fred: 67.

In addition, Edmondson has repeatedly refused to oppose busing strongly. He conveniently skipped the key vote on the House antibusing bill, and most of the financing for his campaign is coming from the big unions.

However, let it be said that we are not supporting Dewey Bartlett just because he is running against Edmondson. Bartlett is honest, hard-working, sensible, and the best governor the state ever had. Unfortunately, the same corrupt money bosses who defeated him in 1970 are behind Edmondson, and Cato played right into their hands. I think that if Cato had checked further, he would have found what all of Oklahoma is finding out . . . Ed's like Fred's like Ted, 'nuff said.

Washington, D.C. MARK ISAAC

Mano's Brain Waves

I've just discovered, to my horror, that Keith Mano has been fooling around with his brain waves ["The Gimlet Eye," Sept. 15]. Now, I've come to value Mano's brain waves: A brain that can toss off a tickling parenthesis like "(an equal opportunity feedback?)" is a brain to cherish, and above all to leave the hell alone. So I urge you, I implore you, to stop him before he does something irreversible.

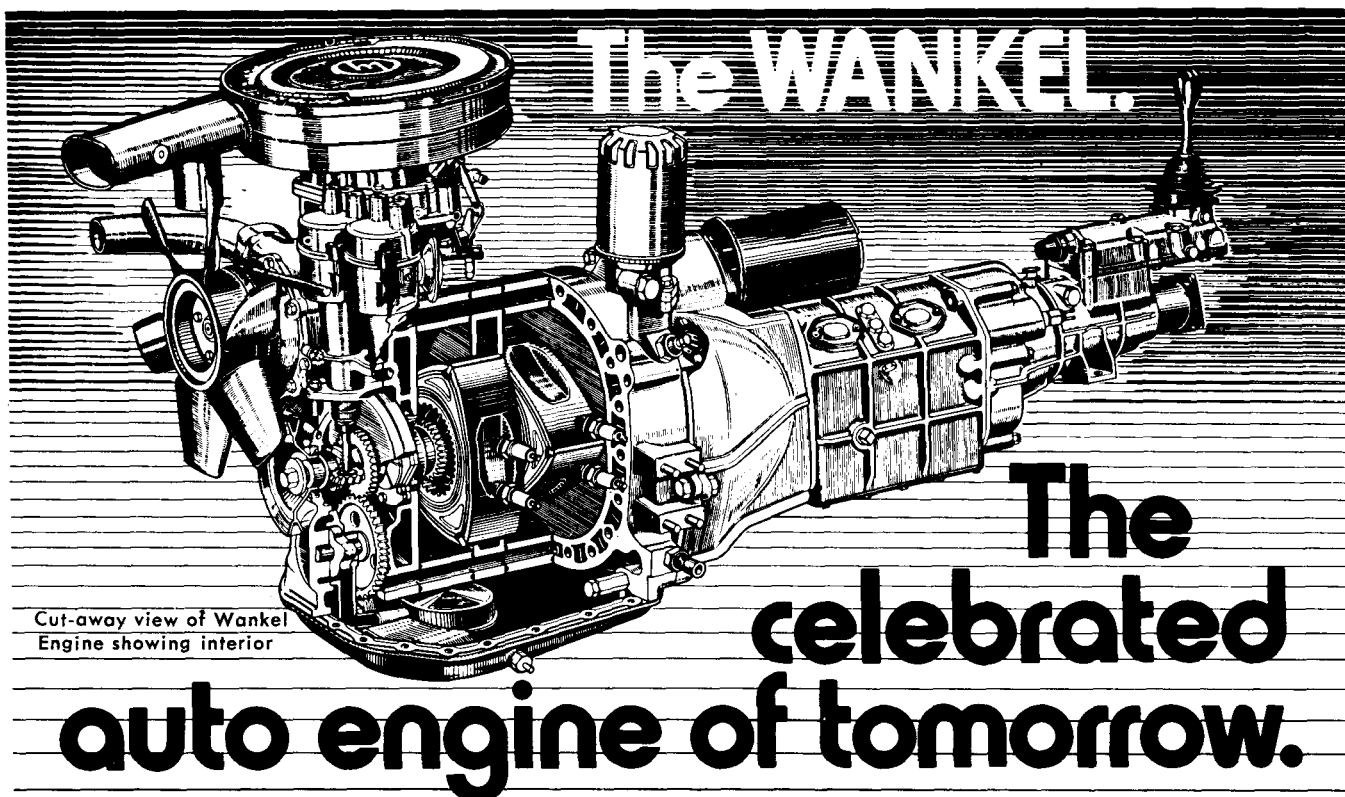
Mano writes novels, and one thing I'm pretty sure of, as a practitioner myself, is that anyone who chooses to construct a novel in this just-spill-it age has got to have a dim view of the value of a dollar. So I guess you won't be able to bribe him. But do whatever you can: Blackmail Mano (any more electronic tampering and he's assigned to a critique of the complete works of David Dellinger?), or maybe get him declared a preserved species—not to be molested, though encouraged to mate.

But do *something* to keep him away from those electrodes. And if you have to hit him, don't hit him in the head.

Somerville, Mass. MAGGIE RENNERT

Reynolds on Strikes

There have been times when I have been

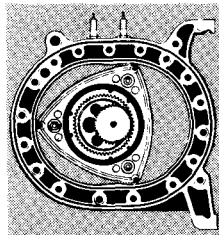


Cut-away view of Wankel Engine showing interior

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The first radical change in automobile power systems in half a century is here. And you can see exactly how it works, in this authentic operating scale model. Someday soon, your car will probably run on a Wankel. This is the engine you've been reading about in *The Wall Street Journal*, *Time Magazine* and *The New York Times*. Wankel-powered cars have been making headlines throughout the world. General Motors recently paid \$50 million for the rights to use the revolutionary Wankel Rotary Engine in its cars. And such noted manufacturers as Rolls-Royce, Mercedes-Benz, Alfa Romeo and Citroen are already developing Wankel-powered automobiles.

Works Without Pistons.



What makes the Wankel run? Instead of conventional cylinders and pistons, it uses unique triangular rotors that rotate in combustion chambers shaped like fat figure eights. Why is the pistonless Wankel better? Because it's less than $\frac{1}{2}$ the size and weight of conventional engines of the same horsepower! And has 40% fewer parts. No valves, no rods, no lifters, no cam shafts, no crank shafts. Which means less friction, less wear and tear, less need for repair. And the faster it goes, the quieter it gets.

Fully Authentic 1/5 Scale Model.

We find the whole thing incredibly fascinating. So will you, with your own motorized see-through model of this automobile engine of the future. We have a kit that duplicates the amazing Wankel in authentic 1/5th scale right down to the very last plug, gear and oil cap. This fully detailed operating model has a transparent, heavy plastic housing. You can actually see the triangular rotors turning on their shaft. You see the continual flash of igniting spark plugs. You see the rotating fan blades. You see the moving fan belt of real rubber. You hear the powerful deep-throated whirr of the motor. All controlled by your own touch on the stick-shift on-off switch.

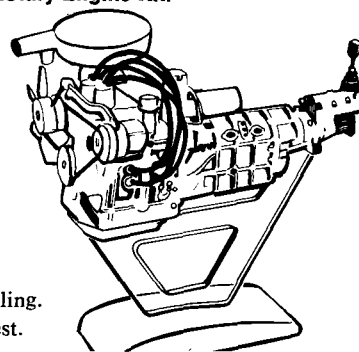
The model that separates the men from the boys.

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thoroughly disgusted with NATIONAL REVIEW's views on President Nixon and on his modus operandi—whatever that is.

I almost canceled my subscription, but I'm glad I didn't. Alan Reynolds wrote a classic in the September 29 issue ["What Strikes Do to the Innocent Bystander"]. I am sorry that this article can't get greater currency than the limited circulation of NR. I have almost worn my copy out passing it around to my friends and Republicans. They all agree that the article is just great. You are to be congratulated on having such an intelligent and fearless writer as Mr. Reynolds. One such article is worth a year's subscription.

Kingston, Tenn.

EARL J. BECK

To solve the problem of labor monopoly Mr. Reynolds would, in effect, extend the antitrust laws to unions. He would deny the laborers of any one company the right to combine with the laborers of another company for the purpose of collective bargaining.

Remember that the problem of labor monopoly is always a problem of involuntary combination. And to solve this problem of involuntary combination, Mr. Reynolds would employ the means of involuntary separation.

But why substitute the one form of involuntarism for the other when what is needed is not more involuntarism but more voluntarism?

The proper free-market solution to the problem of monopoly would be to allow vendors to combine all they want—just insist that their combinations be voluntary, that no one be forced to join them.

Incidentally, when, in spite of the freedom to do so, no one arises to compete for a share of the "monopoly gain," the gain is not actually the result of monopoly but of a scarcity of competitors. There is a difference, for a monopoly gain is by definition a gain for the few at the expense of the many while a scarcity gain benefits all as it encourages competitors to arise and alleviate the basic problem of scarcity.

Pacoima, Calif.

P. B. PHILLIPS

Voluntary combinations can be just as effective as involuntary combinations in creating an artificial scarcity of some skill by excluding newcomers. Voluntary combinations can also be used to gain an advantage by injuring innocent bystanders. We have to balance the "right" to combine against a) the rights of those who are excluded by the combination from practicing the trade of their choice, and b) the rights of consumers and middlemen to be protected against coercive restrictions on the supply of essential goods and services.

If we define "voluntary" to mean that the combination cannot exclude anyone, that is a much more severe restriction on the right to combine than I have proposed. Limiting the scope of strikes (which is not analogous to the anti-competitive cap-

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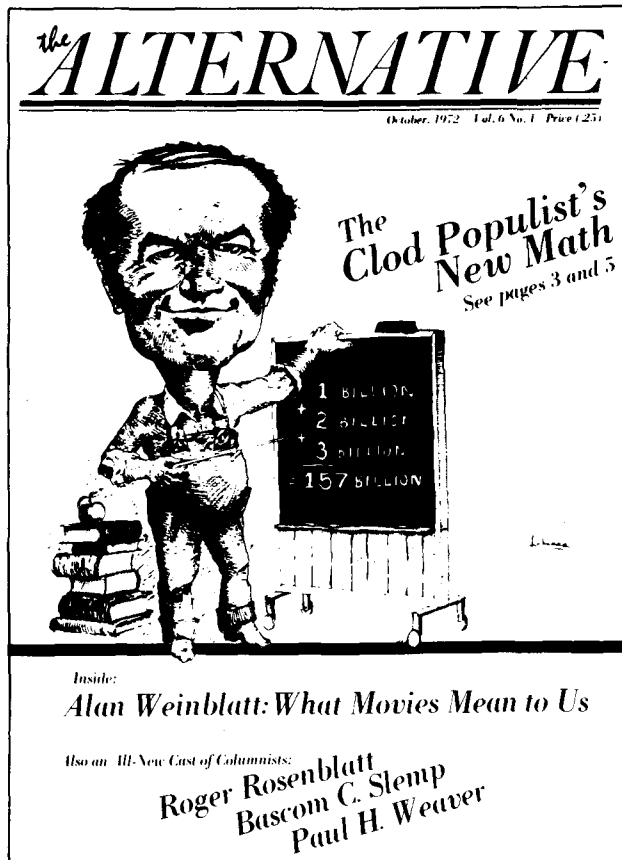
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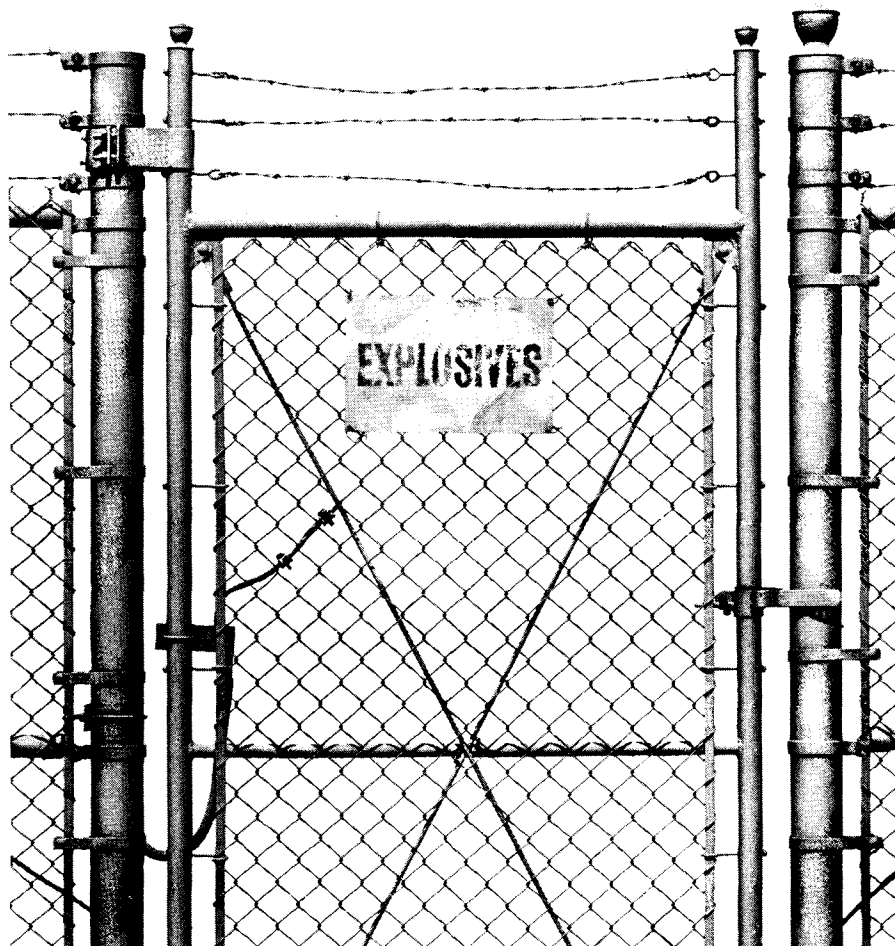
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rices of "antitrust") would permit union and non-union shops to exist side by side, while protecting the public against area-wide shut-downs and also retaining substantial freedom to organize effective unions. —AR

Lead: In or Out?

Arthur Gerunda's article on leaded gasoline ["Why Get the Lead Out?," July 21] repeats most of the myths and fables that have been promulgated by opponents of lead removal. For example, he flatly states that "lead removal will seriously worsen the quality of the air we breathe." This has not been proved, just as it has not been claimed that by removing the lead we'll all live longer. The Environmental Protection Agency has said that exposure to airborne lead above the level of 2 mg./cu. m. for a period of ninety days or longer constitutes a health hazard. A California Department of Health study also showed definite correlation between blood lead content and airborne lead at that level.

"Why remove the lead?" Gerunda asks. Use of lead-free fuel can help reduce air pollution in at least two ways. First, it produces fewer unburned hydrocarbon emissions. Secondly, use of unleaded fuel eliminates lead particulate emissions, which average about five pounds per car per year.

Mr. Gerunda lashes out at work being done by the auto and petroleum industries. He talks about a catalytic muffler "developed several years ago and tested by the Federal Government as recently as 1969," implying the "lead-out boys" have suppressed such a device. If this is so, our scientists are not aware of it.

Mr. Gerunda complains about evaporation of harmful aromatics. The fact is that 91 Research Octane unleaded gasoline typically contains no more aromatics than many conventional leaded gasolines. Nevertheless, added controls on new cars already are cutting some 65 per cent of vapor losses from the fuel system, and stricter controls are coming.

Certainly, as Mr. Gerunda notes, lead removal will have "a considerable impact on industry." However, lead is not being removed from gasoline without full exposure of all of the pros and cons.

TED B. TOM

Vice President

Whiting, Ind.

American Oil Company

In response to Mr. Ted B. Tom's letter I would like to point out the following:

a) Airborne lead has been studied considerably. The World Health Organization (WHO) reported in 1967 "no increase in lead levels in humans in twenty years." If any change could be noted, it was a slight decrease. The WHO found the lead level in the blood of New Guinea aborigines to be considerably higher than that of U.S. citizens.

(Continues on page 1265)

ANOMALY: The most discussed academic issue on campuses across the country is Immanuel Velikovsky's synthesis of sciences and the humanities. Courses examine his theories and their reception; theses and seminars explore the implications of his research; his lectures are *events* (for his lecture at McMaster University, Canada, six additional halls had to be linked by closed circuit television to the main auditorium). Yet, scientific journals, with few exceptions, still deal with his work only parenthetically, leaving their readers unaware of the great synthesis and its revolutionary significance. *Pensée* announces —

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The spring, 1972, *Pensée* (Immanuel Velikovsky Reconsidered #1) enjoyed such an unusual and enthusiastic reception on campuses (numerous colleges and universities have ordered copies — in lots up to 500) and evoked such a vigorous response from the academic community, that *Pensée*'s editors have decided to dedicate nine more successive issues to "Immanuel Velikovsky Reconsidered." These issues will be spaced over the 1972-73 and 1973-74 academic years. We are already assured of participation by scientists and scholars of national and international repute, as well as by an awakened young generation of researchers in fields covering the entire spectrum of human knowledge. Each richly illustrated issue, containing 60,000 words, will carry at least one article (or chapter from an unpublished book) by Velikovsky.

What is most important is that [Velikovsky's] ideas stimulate thought and experiment, and move us eventually to a wider and deeper understanding of nature. The fact that Velikovsky suggests such a wide variety of ingenious experiments to test his theories certainly is in the best scientific tradition. He obviously has a keen mind which clearly grasps many of the intricacies of modern experimental techniques, and he has made some extremely ingenious suggestions about the application of and limitations of these techniques."

P.P.M. Meincke, professor of physics and associate dean, University of Toronto

"My personal heresy is to believe that we are now in the midst of a scientific revolution equal to that of 1895-1920. . . In my judgment the

three events which led off this new era of change were: 1) Velikovsky's resynthesis of astronomic events (1950); 2) Reines and Cowan's experimental demonstration of the finite existence of the neutrino (1953); 3) Yang and Lee's prediction of the violation of parity (1956 — proven 1957)."

H. C. Dudley, professor of radiation physics, University of Illinois Medical Center

"... the time has come to leave the debating table and begin the enormous task of evaluating empirically those hypotheses of Dr. Velikovsky's that are amenable to scientific study."

Richard F. Haines, research scientist, Neurosciences Branch, NASA Ames Research Center.

"Perhaps the American Association for the Advancement of Science could be interested in holding a symposium on scientific logic using the Velikovsky case as a specific study. . . the public deserves a better assessment of the validity of Velikovsky's work than it has received to date."

Walter Orr Roberts, astrophysicist and former president, American Association for the Advancement of Science

"I do not propose to waste time in indulging — for the benefit of skeptics — in any apology for considering Velikovsky's ideas seriously. It is enough to say that I don't see how any serious scientist can refuse to consider them, or to test them against the body of fact and theory he has detailed knowledge of."

Euan W. MacKie, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow

"Velikovsky has illuminated the very essence of the most interesting period of Egyptian history. In doing so he has forged a firm link between the Nile and Greece, making a basic contribution to Mediterranean Studies.

Cyrus Gordon, chairman, department of Mediterranean studies, Brandeis University, discussing Velikovsky's *Oedipus and Akhnaton*

The fall, 1972, issue (Immanuel Velikovsky Reconsidered #2) is off the press. In it Ralph Juergens sets forth a revolutionary approach to celestial mechanics, accounting for the role of plasma in sheathing the charged celestial bodies. Velikovsky's "H. H. Hess and My Memoranda" makes public the full text of his memos from 1956 to 1969. Submitted to Hess, to the organizing committee of the International Geophysical Year, and to the National Academy of Sciences Space Science Board, these memos document a remarkable story of successful advance claims. This issue of *Pensée* also carries over a score of other papers, by P.P.M. Meincke (professor of physics, University of Toronto) and Cyrus Gordon (chairman, department of Mediterranean studies, Brandeis University), among others; and reports on Velikovsky's lecture and consultation at NASA's Ames Research Center August 13, 1972 — at the invitation of the Exobiology Division — and on the three-day symposium on Velikovsky's work August 16-18 at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon. Two hundred fifty scholars and observers from the U.S. and Canada participated in this landmark symposium.

BONUS — New subscribers will receive a free copy of the spring, 1972, issue (Immanuel Velikovsky Reconsidered #1). It contains articles from the pens of physicists, philosophers, historians, and archaeologists; the sordid story of the Harvard University astronomers' successful effort to

suppress *Worlds in Collision* at the hands of its first publisher, Macmillan, narrated by Horace M. Kallen, dean of American educators; and a facsimile of a letter Einstein wrote 30 days before his death, touching on the same subject.

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THE WEEK

■ What *will* we do when we don't have George McGovern to kick around anymore?

■ The McGovern people are distributing a handy little goldbound pamphlet with questions and answers on Vietnam. To the Q: "Wouldn't an immediate American withdrawal lead to a bloodletting and a 'long night of terror'?" they A (in part): "Those who talk with certainty about a Communist bloodbath . . . cite as proof the mass graveyards found in Hué after the NLF seized the city in 1968, without mentioning that those dead bodies were the result of American air strikes."

■ Perhaps the best comment yet on Senator McGovern's wild campaign rhetoric comes from England, where Tory pundit Samuel Johnson commented: "He that fancies he should benefit the public more in a great station than the man that fills it, will in time imagine it an act of virtue to supplant him; and, as opposition readily kindles into hatred, his eagerness to do that good, to which he is not called, will betray him to crimes, which in his original scheme were never purposed." (*The Rambler*, No. 8, April 14, 1750.)

■ Here 'tis: *NR*'s long-awaited list of The Ten Most Unsatisfactory Candidates for the House of Representatives. May I have the envelope, please, Shirley? From sunny California—Don Edwards, scary Ron Dellums a-a-and *Pete McCloskey*! From effete New York—Badmouth Bella Abzug, switch-hitting Ogden Reid and, for you nostalgia buffs, Richard Ottinger. From Michigan—McCloskey's faithful sidekick Don Riegle; from Ohio, the ever-unsatisfactory Louis Stokes! And from the indescribable state of Massachusetts—kindly Father Robert Drinan and—did you think we'd forget?—everybody's favorite ex post facto conscientious objector, John Kerry! Just think, if any of them should happen to lose, he/she can always count on a post in McGovern's cabinet, should he happen to win. And if we had some ham, we could make a ham sandwich, if we had some bread.

■ The Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 6 per cent in September, and the cumulative rate of price increase in (non-food) commodities has been slightly *higher* under Phase II than during the pre-controls period last year. Now interest rates are being pushed up by large sales of government securities needed to finance the federal deficit; this has led to veiled threats of controls on interest rates. The danger here is that the Federal Reserve may attempt to keep interest rates down by making money more plentiful. Financing the deficit with such new money would not only add to inflationary pressures,

it would ultimately raise interest rates too, because lenders would demand compensation for the expected erosion of purchasing power. We *do* still need controls—on federal spending and the money supply.

■ Immediately after 31 black schoolchildren were assigned to the 70 per cent white school, the white parents began to protest. They staged a sit-in at the school, leaving only after a court order forced them to do so. When word got around that, to avoid the hullabaloo, the black would-be pupils might be shifted to a nearby school, five hundred white women whose children go to that school threatened to use the same tactics. Above it all, as usual, stands the *New York Times*. While chastising "those who stood in the schoolhouse door," the *Times* tells us that the "issues behind the conflict are admittedly more complex than white opposition to the enrollment of black pupils." Evidently protests in Canarsie, New York are always "more complex" than protests in, say, Little Rock, Arkansas.

■ Defense Secretary Laird has announced a new system of military inspection and accountability, designed to prevent a repetition of General John Lavelle's unauthorized bombings of North Vietnam. The *New York Times* isn't satisfied. Taking a hard line on law and order, the *Times* charges that the "mild rebuff" given Lavelle won't suffice, even in conjunction with the new safeguards, to deter others from slithering under the ordinances of lawful authority, a privilege the *Times* would reserve for moral *Übermenschen* like Daniel Ellsberg.

■ The 92nd Congress showed a uniquely cavalier approach to federal spending. Not that the President can be wholly absolved from the spending spree, since Congress passed 141 of Nixon's 318 proposals—many of which involved more spending. But even in these cases, Congress played the game of one-upmanship with a vengeance: Nixon asked for \$5 billion for revenue sharing, Congress approved \$5.3 billion and made it retroactive; Nixon asked for \$6 billion over three years for sewage treatment, Congress approved (over his veto) \$24.6 billion;

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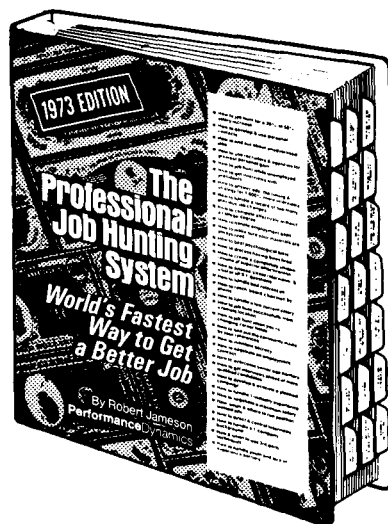
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Nixon asked for \$1.5 billion for school desegregation, Congress approved \$2.5 billion; Nixon asked for a 5 per cent increase in Social Security benefits, Congress approved a 20 per cent increase. There is a limit to how much damage can be done in one session, so Congress, fortunately, failed to enact an increase in the minimum wage, subsidized day care (which was vetoed), and omnibus bills for "community development" and "consumer protection." Unfortunately, Congress also failed to take action on limiting strikes, alleviating the school-tax burden for those who attend private schools, eliminating wasteful programs, and clarifying legislative intent regarding the use of school buses to achieve racial quotas. All things considered, one is left with an uncomfortable suspicion that we might all be better off if the 92nd Congress had never convened.

■ A few weeks ago the Vietcong attacked a leper colony in South Vietnam, blowing up houses, hospital wards and part of a school. The *New York Times* carried the story, in five column inches. On October 20 the *Times* had another story of a raid on a leper colony. Only this time the United States was accused of the bombing, and the story by Seymour (Mylai) Hersh took up five times as much space. There were other differences. According to Hersh, U.S. planes mistakenly bombed the leper colony, thinking it was a division headquarters of the North Vietnamese army. The Vietcong couldn't have made a mistake: They used satchel charges that had to be carried in and placed close to the lepers' homes, hospital and school.

■ What is a *moderate* socialist? Voters in the recent British Columbia (Canada) provincial election gave self-styled moderate Dave Barrett's NDP the edge over the aging government of Premier Bennett. Premier Barrett announced his legislative plans last week: nationalization of automobile insurance, BC Telephone and the gas pipelines (Westcoast Transmission and Inland). The mining, oil and forest products companies that make up BC's industrial base will pay heavy new taxes to help finance a megawelfare scheme that includes a universal pension of \$200 monthly. Legislative restraints on crippling strikes will be repealed. Panic selling of shares of the doomed companies has hit stock exchanges. Compensation for unlucky investors was unstated by the Premier, but it will presumably be—moderate.

■ Our relations with India, sour since last year's Bangladesh war, have gotten sourer. U.S. economic aid has all but stopped; no ambassador has been named to replace Kenneth Keating (who resigned in July); Mrs. Gandhi has been blasting the American effort in Vietnam, and even blaming the CIA for recent demonstrations and riots. Her erstwhile ally Bangladesh, however, is becoming increasingly friendly to the U.S., thanks to a quiet, generous (\$400-million) no-strings aid program. Now the Bengalis don't have to depend on either the pushy Russians or huge India, and they like that.

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"No people can survive eight years of such deceit without a mark on their collective psyche. Among millions of Americans, the hope of changing official policy has been crushed. Millions have become desensitized to the fact of death by our instruments in Indochina." (Anthony Lewis, Aug. 23, 1972)

"In the world, America's name once stood for compassion; this Administration has made it increasingly synonymous with inhumanity. Mr. Nixon stood by while his Pakistani allies raped the women and slaughtered the intellectuals of Bengal." (Sept. 9, 1972)

"Why did we pay more attention to the incident of the French mission? Could it be that skin color makes a difference? Would our pilots worry a little more if the people they bombed day after day and year after year were Europeans instead of Asians?" (Oct. 14, 1972)

"It is hard for Americans to understand that we are responsible for most of the slaughter and destruction of this war. Only our side uses B-52s or indeed any bombing planes. . . . Only we use napalm. . . . In short, we are conducting a war of terror." (Oct. 21, 1972)

"Even disagreement with President Nixon's policies cannot prepare one for the atmosphere of this city: It is ugly. It is shameless. . . . There are too many sawdust men in Washington now, men with nothing inside—*no limits of character to what they will do for political ends.*" (Oct. 23, 1972; italics added)

"Hieronymo's mad againe." (Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*)

"Fire in each eye, and papers in each hand,
They rave, recite, and madden round the land."
(Alexander Pope, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*)

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11-issue collection as a reference source, to be turned to again and again as the child's interests and reading ability expand.

HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN is not available on the newsstands but is sold by subscription only, for the editors feel that part of its value is its continuing program of fresh, imaginative material.

It is sent addressed to the child himself, something all his own in a world where so much seems to be decided by adults. Where there are several children in the family, a single subscription may be shared in several names.

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■ A Maryland judge ruled last month (see *NR*, Oct. 27) that a sixteen-year-old girl had to submit to her mother's wishes and have an abortion, because, he said, it would not be "in the interest of an unborn child to be born under these circumstances." Now an appeals court has overturned his ruling, reasoning that since a minor may legally obtain medical treatment or advice concerning pregnancy without parental consent, "the minor, and particularly a minor over sixteen, . . . may not be forced, more than an adult, to accept treatment or advice concerning pregnancy." Nor, incidentally, may the unborn child be forced to accept the treatment imposed by solicitous Maryland judges.

■ If a guy on a bike collides with a tank, it is at least the "sense of mankind," if not an established principle of international law, that he ought to be spared a traffic ticket, if he survives. In Washington, D.C. recently cyclist Orville Jackson pedaled into a service station at the same moment as the President's new \$500,000 "strong as a tank" armored Lincoln Continental limousine (Mr. Nixon was not aboard), and a minor collision ensued. Johnson suffered a few cuts, the bike was repaired by straightening the handlebars, and the tank was damaged "in excess of \$100" (have you ever tried to hammer one smooth?). Jackson was thereupon arrested by a contingent of: one lieutenant, one sergeant, one motorcycle patrolman and two officers. He says the tank hit him, and plans to fight the ticket. Should he lose, it's time for the Beadle Bumble fund to arise and pay his fine.

■ Viewed from the remote perspective of a chic liberal's Park Avenue apartment, César Chavez' lettuce boycott looks something like this: California lettuce harvesters are unorganized, rootless migrants, more than a fourth of them under sixteen, all grossly underpaid and badly housed. According to C. B. Christensen, Director of the California Department of Agriculture, it's a myth. "Less than 10 per cent of California's agricultural labor is now classified as migratory labor," says Mr. Christensen, and "virtually no child labor is utilized in California. . . . Depicting the migrant as living in a shack is unrealistic in view of the health, safety, sanitation and other laws which apply to the housing situation." According to his department's survey of payrolls, "lettuce workers in California during 1972 are making hourly earnings ranging from \$5.70 to \$7.41 per hour on a piece-work basis." Far from being a fight to organize unorganized workers, says Christensen, this is in reality a "jurisdictional dispute between the Teamsters Union, which is under contract with the growers of over 75 per cent of the head lettuce harvested and packed in California," and Chavez' United Farm Workers, whose contracts cover only about 10 to 15 per cent of California's lettuce production. Einar Mohn, Director of the Western Conference of Teamsters, put it more bluntly: "This is not a jurisdictional dispute, since we have contracts. This is a raid on our membership by the UFWOC."

■ Spigotry has reached the college curriculum, you

should know. Boise State College scheduled a seminar on "grantsmanship" this month, "designed for any person, agency, organization, city or county interested in getting through the red tape" and into the trough. No seminars for taxpayers have been scheduled.

■ Mr. Gravino Agostinoni, a newspaper vendor from Monte Silvano, Italy, has produced the first fully automatic spaghetti-making machine. You pour flour and water in one end. The machine then mixes a paste, cooks it, shreds it and glops it onto a plate with a squirt of tomato sauce and a sprinkle of parmesan cheese, at the rate of two platesful a minute. "I hope I can sell my machine to the Americans," says the proud inventor. Skeptical? Well, dammit, remember what they said about Galileo.

■ In a letter to the *Washington Post*, one Abigail Cringle has proposed certain reforms to expunge from the language those grammatical constructs which "discriminate against the women in society," for example, "As *each* finishes, tell *him* to leave." In place of this obvious exploitation by the running dogs of sexism, Miz Cringle suggests we adopt a new neuter pronoun, "z," for just such situations, and z's not such a bad idea at that. To each z own, though. We'll stay with Oldspeak. Him good.

■ The 1976 national bicentennial celebration, says Harriet Van Horne, "will be vulgar, tawdry, jingoistic, and—no other word will do—totalitarian." If there's one thing we like less than a nattering nabob of negativism, it's a priggish prognosticatory party-pooper.

Into the Stretch

We write this comment on the day following Nguyen Van Thieu's radio broadcast on the peace negotiations. In spite of its fairly hardline rhetoric, we believe that speech confirms the spreading belief that a ceasefire and some sort of preliminary political settlement are not far off, though perhaps not so close as election day. The signs all point toward that destination: the lengthy global ballet of the negotiators, dancing to and from Paris, Washington, Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and Saigon; the prolonged climactic gathering in Saigon, with Chief of Staff Abrams as well as Henry Kissinger on stage; the intervention of the French, who did not end all their interest in Indochina after Dienbienphu; the reserved tone of Moscow and Peking; the cessation of bombing in North Vietnam above the 20th parallel and the more general recession of combat; the withdrawal of all but one U.S. aircraft carrier from off the North Vietnamese coast.

Not that all difficulties have been overcome, even apart from those stressed by Thieu. A ceasefire, especially in the case of wars involving guerrilla and underground forces as well as regular military units, is tech-

(Continues on page 1228)

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This quick-change artistry is practiced successfully at The Jefferson Square Chatterbox Restaurant, shown above. Additional benefits: The carpet is anti-static, fade-resistant, with pile of 70% solution-dyed Acrilan® acrylic fiber and 30% super lightfast nylon. In numerous solid and coordinated tweed colors, MILSTAR Corporate Squares offer limitless possibilities for dramatically patterned floors. For details, call or write Deering Milliken, Inc., Contract Carpet Manager, LaGrange, Georgia 30240. (404) 883-5511.



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Memo to: NR Readers (especially students -- and anyone who cares about them)

From: J.P. McFadden

Re: something that may interest you

Two years ago Bill Buckley brought out a book that every student or young person ought to have handy, and almost anybody (not just conservatives) would, I think, enjoy having. Yet the book remains virtually unknown. So I want to tell you about it -- and also explain how you can get a copy of it right now -- for yourself, or for some young person you care about -- for less than a dollar (95¢, to be exact).

The original edition was called "Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?" and was big and expensive (over 550 pps., \$8.50). It was published almost simultaneously with two other books by WFB, both of which got much more publicity and attention, causing this one, as I say, to be overlooked, which was a shame, because in many ways it's the most unusual thing Bill has ever done: he has brought together, in this one volume, the best conservative thought of the century, which he personally selected and edited (and introduces to you with an original and illuminating essay).

In addition, it includes selections from Frank S. Meyer, James Burnham, Whittaker Chambers, Willmoore Kendall, Max Eastman, Henry Hazlitt, Milton Friedman, John Courtney Murray, Albert Jay Nick, Ernest van den Haag, Jane Jacobs, Russell Kirk, Hugh Kenner, Leo Strauss, Christopher Dawson, Eric Voegelin, Jeffrey Hart, among others perhaps less well-known to the average reader.

It is carefully indexed, so that you can instantly find that quote you want, and also arranged according to subjects, so you can pick and choose just what you like.... As a matter of fact, there is so much one could say about this book that it is not at all easy to describe. I asked Bill: "How would you describe it?" and he answered: "Well, it's all the things I wish I could say when somebody runs up to me after a speech or whatever, and says 'Mr. Buckley, what do you think I should read?'". It is certainly a book worth having.

The point is, it is now available, unabridged, in a handsome new softcover edition. Although right now still so expensive (\$3.75), our hope is that enough of you will rush to get a copy that our quantity discount (plus no billing charges) will allow us to send you a postpaid copy for just 95¢ -- and we'll mail it to you, or to anyone you designate on the card opposite this page. But, please act now while the supply lasts -- I really can't think of a more appropriate and useful book for students (not to mention the NR subscription!).

So I hope you will use the card facing this page right now, before you forget. It has full instructions about how to order, for yourself, for others, etc., and at this low 95¢ price you really can't afford to miss it, right? Many thanks.

J.P.M.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Once upon a time presidential candidates came from the ranks of governors. But that was before governmental power became concentrated in Washington, and before the tiny television studio in the Senate press gallery became *the* place for presidential aspirants to merchandise themselves. The theory that governors no longer can win presidential nominations seems to be confirmed in recent years when two able governors from the two most important states—Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Ronald Reagan of California—failed in their nomination bids. But according to some serious Washington sources two Republican governors are dead serious about making a run for the White House in 1976. These sources say Rockefeller will not seek or accept a Cabinet post during Nixon's second term. Instead, he will run for a fifth term as governor of New York, and not just for the pleasure of coshing John Lindsay, should the Democrats nominate him. His purpose will be to keep in shape for his fourth fight for the Republican presidential nomination.

Rockefeller may have some competition from Governor Richard Ogilvie of Illinois—assuming Ogilvie comes out on top in his rugged re-election fight this year. Ogilvie managed to shed fifty pounds this year without gaining an ounce of charisma. In fact, his campaign theme seems to be "charisma isn't everything." But it just could be that

Ogilvie's competence and bluntness have an almost charismatic appeal to voters fed up with pompous government. Should Ogilvie win a second four-year term, he will be well-placed to ruin the presidential dreams of Senator Charles Percy. If Illinois Republicans have to choose between Ogilvie and Percy in 1976, Percy will be lucky to get five votes from Illinois' delegation to the national convention.

■ While Republicans are wondering whether Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania will be challenged by Gordon Allott of Colorado for the position of Senate Minority Leader, Democrats are wondering if Mike Mansfield of Montana might step down as Majority Leader, thereby touching off a bruising battle for succession. If he does, the contenders will be Robert Byrd (W. Va.), Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie. Two years ago Byrd ousted Ted Kennedy from the Number Two post as Majority Whip. His personal manner is off-putting (he is known as the Uriah Heep of the Senate), but he is the Senate's most assiduous collector of IOUs. As Whip he has spent hundreds of hours on the Senate floor managing the flow of legislation, scheduling votes, and solicitously protecting absent senators from missing important votes. If Byrd thought he had the votes, he would run. And because he is one of the best vote-counters in the Senate, he probably would win. But liberal Democrats cannot sit still for that. After all, Byrd has close ties to the Southern

Democrats, and he is the only senator who once belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. Kennedy is pushing Humphrey, who would be a formidable advocate of Democratic causes. In fact, Mansfield's men do not like the fact that Humphrey would present a sharp contrast to the torpid Mansfield leadership. They favor the lusterless Muskie, who would dearly love to recoup some of the prestige he has lost in this disastrous year.

■ Who remembers that Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, unlike Humphrey and Muskie, refused to cave in to McGovern before the balloting at the Democratic Convention last July? Lots of disgruntled Democrats, that's who, and they are talking about an informal but serious attempt to interest Jackson in making another run in 1976.

■ Are you wondering why the nation is so much happier than ever before? Thank the Wheaties-eating Senate for casting 532 recorded votes in the just-ended second session of the 92nd Congress. This required more than 175 hours of roll-calling but it was worth it: 532 is a one-session record. The two-session total for the 92nd was 955, just 31 short of the record of 986 piled up by the 47th Congress. (But the 47th cheated. It ran into a third year, 1881 through 1883, as it grappled with tariffs and Chinese exclusion.) Ten years ago the 87th Congress (1961-1962) cast just 434 recorded votes and twenty years ago the 82nd Congress (1951-1952) cast just 331 votes. —CATO

nically very complicated to work out even when agreed upon. And is a ceasefire to be for all Indochina or only Vietnam? Must the North Vietnamese units in the South, existence of which Hanoi has never formally admitted, retire beyond the border, or may they stay in place? What supervision is there to be? What enforcement if a violation? And the possible complications in future political arrangements are infinite. If a three-part coalition, how many for each part, how chosen? What election rules? What happens to the current Saigon government? How is the countryside to be organized politically? There should be no surprise, except to believers in ninety-day miracles, that a winding down of the war should be an uneven, dragged out process.

But nevertheless it seems to be coming. The will to bring at least this long episode of Indochinese history in which America has participated to a close exists now, by all indications, and the will may be expected to prevail. It exists, certainly, in the United States. There is no question but that there is a consensus in this country to finish with the Vietnam affair: not that there is no

one who disagrees, but that there is no influential body of opinion in disagreement. The President is aware of this consensus, and acts, in the last analysis must act, accordingly. All our Western allies want an end, and both Moscow and Peking seem at least to think it is time to go on to other matters. Hanoi, having failed once more to win a decisive military victory in the South, having taken fearful punishment this year, and having had more than a generation of travail, is ready—if not to abandon its long-range aims, to have done with one and begin a different phase. The Saigon government alone is probably outside this general consensus, but Saigon alone cannot change what has become the direction events have, probably irreversibly, taken.

The public moves of the principals are now, like the secret talks, part of the negotiating process. It is in this sense that we must understand the intransigent sound of parts of Thieu's radio address. He is attempting, on the one hand, to exert pressure for any further concession to his interest that Hanoi-Washington might both grant for the sake of getting on with it, and, on the other, to



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strengthen his own internal position both by appearing firm and by putting himself in a position to claim credit even for concessions he knows to be already granted.

Neither Nixon nor Thieu will deceive himself about the critical defect in the settlement that is shaping up. North Vietnam has not been defeated militarily and, with the U.S. military forces withdrawn, will continue, when regular fighting halts, to be the predominant power in Indochina. No agreements, ceasefires, troop dispositions or political arrangements can guarantee that North Vietnam will not, by one method or another, exploit its predominance to extend Communist power throughout Indochina. "You should never believe in the Communists' promises and never think that if they come to the South they will let you have a share in their government," Thieu warned his countrymen in the conclusion to his address. "The reason why I talk to you tonight is because I don't want the Communists to dominate" this country. American policy has not succeeded in assuring South Vietnam security from that threat, and therefore American policy has in that measure failed. But the moment comes when you have to cut bait. President Nixon's policy could not give President Thieu and the South Vietnamese a guarantee, but it has won them a chance. Granted the American consensus now formed, that is the best the President and the country could do. We do not doubt that the terms of the approaching agreement will show that Mr. Nixon has kept his word: that Thieu will not have been sacrificed by his act or initiative. As the new phase takes over, it will be up to Thieu himself and the South Vietnamese to determine whether they can hold against the odds they will face.

Nixon's Philosophy

In a radio speech broadcast from Camp David on October 21, President Nixon sought to rise above the issues of the day and address himself to some permanent principles. To be sure, the level did not reach a pure and Spinozistic generality; not unexpectedly, the President found the issues of taxes, busing and quotas handy as illustrations. Yet he did make some points worth making and, equally important, sought to rescue common sense from its customary defensive position.

Taxes? "When a man sees more and more of the money he earns taken away by government taxation, and he objects to that, I don't think it is right to charge him with selfishness, with not caring about the poor and the dependent. . . . When a mother sees her child taken from a neighborhood school and transported miles away, and she objects to that, I don't think it is right to charge her with bigotry. . . . When young people apply for jobs—in politics or in industry—and find the doors closed because they don't fit into some numerical quota, despite their ability, and they object—I don't think it is right to condemn those young people as insensitive or racist."

So far, so good. It is not Burke, but it is a long way from McGovern. And two comments are appropriate.

First, and one almost hates to say it, quotas and busing became explosive, politically exploitable issues under a *Nixon* Administration. It is a major irony of the President's address that he was, in effect, running against the record of his own domestic performance. Of course, George McGovern is ideologically incapacitated from exploiting the quota and busing issues—he, after all, is *for* them—and Nixon was not about to let the political mileage go by default. But Mr. Nixon's first Commissioner of Education was the late James E. Allen, who, so to speak, you would have thought owned a bus franchise. And over at the Office of Education, Mr. Nixon's J. Stanley Pottinger is even now requiring "affirmative action"—shh . . . quotas!—in college and university hiring.

But, as Mr. Nixon says, Throw the Rascals Out. And, as for the second comment, let us be fair. This address, one of a series of radio speeches by the President, could adumbrate the future tendency of Administration domestic policy. Nixon's 1968 campaign speeches actually did foreshadow much in the first four years: changes in the Supreme Court, the D.C. Crime Bill, a much tougher



Justice Department, revenue sharing, the attempt to substitute “negotiation” for “confrontation,” and the Nixon Doctrine abroad. On the whole, and admitting some surprises, Nixon’s record on fulfilled campaign promises has been better than that of most successful candidates. This speech, therefore, may really be a portent. At least we will hope so.

Media Watch

Accuracy in Media, a nonpartisan Washington-based outfit, keeps an unblinking eye on the news-twisters and has now come up with a revealing analysis of the media handling of the Fred Hampton cause célèbre. Hampton, you will recall, along with five other Panthers, was killed in a raid by Chicago police back in 1969.

The Panthers immediately charged that the police had fired without provocation, and claimed that the Panthers had in fact got off only a single shot all told. The police alleged that many shots had been directed at them.

Initial investigation by a special grand jury tended, but only tended, to support the Panther side of the argument. Between 82 and 89 shots had been fired by the police, but, the jury said, it could find evidence of only one shot from the Panthers.

When the jury issued its report, the *New York Times*, in an editorial, subtly transformed the jury’s statement about the one shot into a conclusive finding that, in fact, only one shot had been fired. Commented the *Times* editorially: “The police, following federal tips, sprayed the Panther lodgings with massive gunfire even though no more than one shot was found to have been fired from inside.” Of course, the grand jury had not claimed to have “found” any such thing. Other papers followed suit. The *Washington Post*, in a page-one story, declared that “a federal grand jury concluded that of the hundred-some shots fired in the apartment, only one came from the gun of a Panther.”

In due course, a second grand jury handed down indictments against Edward V. Hanrahan, State’s Attorney for Cook County, one of his aides and twelve Chicago policemen, charging them with doctoring the evidence to make it appear that the Panthers had been armed and had fired several shots at the police. The judge directed that Hanrahan and the other defendants be acquitted last week, even before the defense presented its case, but that’s not the story Accuracy in Media was interested in.

For in the midst of the trial, on July 25, a startling new development occurred in the case. The special prosecutor, Barnabas Sears, came across transcripts of statements made by surviving Panthers to their lawyers shortly after the shooting—and he felt obliged to bring these to the attention of the court. In these statements, four Panthers admitted to their lawyers that they were holding guns when the police entered their apartment. One said that he had fired two shots at the police. A second

declared that another Panther had fired one shot at the police. A female Panther said that she was trying to fire her gun when the police entered. Thus, in addition to the admitted shotgun blast fired by dead Panther Mark Clark, at least three shots would appear to have been fired by gun-wielding Panthers.

The *New York Times* treated this news in a fascinating way. First, it carried an eight-inch summary in a column on page 74 in the late-city edition, which reaches readers only in New York City. The story was not repeated in the next day’s editions, and therefore was killed as far as readers outside the city were concerned: a rare instance of the burial taking place before the killing.

The *Washington Post* ignored the new development in the Hanrahan trial. So did the *Baltimore Sun*, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Washington Star-Daily News*. So did *Time* and *Newsweek*.

Because the story of the new evidence was thus largely ignored, the original myth tended to be perpetuated: that the Panthers had been unarmed and unoffending, and that they had been massacred brutally by the police in a political vendetta.

Accuracy in Media does not speculate about the motives behind the suppression of the story, but it notes the similarity here to the press treatment of the charge made by Panther lawyer Charles Garry in December 1969 that 28 Panthers had by then been murdered by the police. The *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek* and others repeated this as if it were a fact, only to have it definitely refuted by Edward Jay Epstein in a *New Yorker* article. And though AIM refuses to go into motives, we think we recognize the syndrome.

Watergate Idiocy

What at first appeared to be an isolated caper, a misguided example of individual initiative, now seems—and that verb was carefully chosen—to have been part of a larger design: the systematic and illegal bugging, tapping and otherwise subverting of the Democratic Party and its various candidates. Skepticism naturally is called for. Many of the “dirty tricks” so far alleged may not have been the product of organized Republican ingenuity.

Moreover, a certain amount of hanky-panky has always been standard procedure in American elections: infiltrating informants into rival organizations, stimulating rumors and so on.

The impression now is strong, however, that the Republican operatives have gone far beyond the accepted, if shadowy, norms. It is no secret that the Committee for the Re-election of the President enjoys a huge surplus in campaign funds. It may be that the Republicans have had more money than was good for them and succumbed to the temptation to divert it into dubious and improbable ventures.

If, as alleged, top-level officials in the White House knew that all this was going on, it would shed an appalling light on their lack of professionalism—and, indeed, of common sense.

The football analogy has long been a White House favorite. But one would not expect the quarterback of the Miami Dolphins to try a hidden-ball play involving the sticking of a knife into the football.

Certainly those who broke laws will have to face the courts. If there are amateur 007s in the West Wing they should be retired.

But some perspective should also be retained. The American people did not break any laws or tap any phones. To punish them for this idiocy by electing George McGovern would come under the heading of “cruel and unusual punishment.”

Nader v. Congress

Who Runs Congress?—the first volume of Ralph Nader’s biggest raid yet—contains a lot of useful information on congressional seniority and secrecy, channels of influence and executive pressure. When discussing personalities and legislation, however, the raiders occasionally display an antibusiness, pro-activist bias. This is somewhat unavoidable, since the evaluation of a legislator’s “performance” necessarily depends on what one wishes to see performed.

What used to be referred to as “elder statesmen” are almost invariably depicted by the Nader study as senile obstructionists or defenders of privilege: Thus, Wilbur Mills is accused of defending tax “loopholes” only because of his “money supporters”; F. Edward Hébert is ridiculed for favoring sizable military spending and for being “a staunch Southern Democratic conservative and segregationist”; William Poage’s “red-neckism” is supposedly shown by his opposition to minimum-wage laws for migrant workers; Jamie Whitten is not considered

sufficiently “sensitive” to the “hunger lobby and environmentalists”; and so on. Activists, on the other hand, usually emerge from the Nader report as persecuted heroes. There is thinly veiled sympathy, for example, for Fred Harris (“concerned”), Bella Abzug (“exciting”), Ron Dellums (squashed), Mike Gravel (“passionate”), Philip Hart (courageous), and William Proxmire (“aggressive”).

A conspiratorial tone appears throughout the book, and greed is seen as the only conceivable reason for opposing any and all legislation that contains pleasant-sounding words, like “consumer,” “environment” and “safety.” This *Weltanschauung* sees capitalism as a state of perpetual warfare between business (“rich”) and consumers (“poor”), with government coercion as “the prime lever for change and justice.” Milk price supports and price-boosting regulatory agencies are cited as examples of special-interest legislation, but the principle behind such government interventions is not rejected but enthusiastically embraced. For authority, the study picks indiscriminately from the literature of sensationalism (e.g., *America, Inc.*, *Fat Cats and Democrats*).

The Chamber of Commerce, NAM and the American Farm Bureau Federation supposedly “form the heart of the anticonsumer axis.” Unions, however, are seen as engaged in “social-progress lobbying,” and union campaign contributions are simply “a necessary counterweight to big-business spending” (and not vice versa).

Separate “non-partisan” profiles of each senator and representative are also available for a dollar apiece. A *New York Times* article (October 22) evaluated these evaluations as follows: “When opinions of the writer crept in, as they often did, they usually reflected a liberal point of view. . . . Complimentary opinions of liberals were sprinkled through many of the profiles.”

¡Basta!

Demonstrations began in Chile a fortnight ago when, anticipating nationalization by the Allende government, truckers walked off the job. Most of Santiago’s shops remain shut. Lawyers, doctors, engineers have closed their offices, and last week—despite Allende’s personal negotiation—Santiago’s bus companies went on strike. Chileans are fed up with runaway inflation (99.8 per cent since January), with shortages, with the government’s dogged pursuit of its master plan to take over what is left of Chile’s private sector. If the man in the street is demonstrating against a government that, in the words of one worker, “can’t make *anything* work,” the middle class fights for survival, hardly appeased by the Allende aide who said simply: “Our aim is to destroy the middle class as a *class*, not as individuals.”

Chileans apparently do not share the optimism of the political opposition about the March elections. Even though Christian Democrats, Nationals and Radicals have submerged their differences and agreed on a single

After 1976, What?

I do not claim clairvoyance; I’m no seer.
I’ve neither crystal ball nor Ouija board.
But, notwithstanding, one thing’s “crystal clear”:
The Kennedys are arming for The Lord.
There’s Eunice, trampling where the grapes are stored,
Enjoining California to *care*;
There’s Ethel getting Bobby fans aboard,
While Jackie helps Connecticut prepare.
Meanwhile, each day more forcefully, the heir
Cajoles the rampant Democratic herd.
He vetoes Strauss for party boss. (“Too square.”)
He’s out to get the likes of Robert Byrd.
As for the past, his instinct’s to attack.
Besides, he’s got his driver’s license back.

W. H. VON DREELE

slate of candidates to run against the government, Allende may still have enough clout to keep the opposition below the two-thirds majority it needs to call for new presidential elections, or to start impeachment proceedings. The new antigovernment federation is as surprised by the proliferating strikes as Allende's Unidad Popular. Without the support of the military, revolt is doomed; and, so far, the army has been loyal to the government. If violence spreads beyond the workaday streetfighting, Allende, with the army's support, might seize the excuse to impose martial law and postpone the '73 elections. Indefinitely.

College Grades

The undergraduate college at Yale no longer records failing grades, Brown having taken the same step earlier. This latest of many grading systems at Yale will record only A, B, C or D—no F. The substance of this change, however, is less important than the fact that it reflects a continuing uncertainty about the meaning and the value of college grades, and a crisis which has been developing since, approximately, World War II.

Prior to World War II the competition for admission even to the elite colleges was not particularly intense; nor were places in the graduate and professional schools difficult to come by. A Gentleman's C with a sprinkling of Bs could reasonably hope to go on to law or medical school. But after 1945 long-range trends, vastly accelerated by the GI Bill, brought much greater numbers of students onto the campuses and produced a much more competitive situation. As were good, Bs passable, but after that forget it.

This competitive and indeed utilitarian atmosphere naturally produced a counterreaction. Some professors began to inflate their grades, erstwhile Cs turning into Bs and As. It was said that the students now being admitted were much brighter than formerly. About half the graduating class at Harvard graduates with some form of "honors." And, anyway, who wanted to cause some students to have a nervous breakdown?

At the same time, students increasingly called for the "abolition" of grades—paradoxically because they had become so important, but, also, because under pressure the standards applied had become wobbly and uneven.

During the 1960s, furthermore, there supervened a widespread feeling that ideally a college course should not be primarily instrumental, a means toward something else, but, instead, an end in itself. Naturally, this attitude was more easily applied to a course in poetry than to one in organic chemistry. And, in any case, graduate schools, employers and others wanted to see grades. Students, whatever position they took in the matter, also wanted to know "how they were doing," and "whether they were improving." Manifest corruptions, such as the well-known but seldom avowed "Black B," further confused the situation.

In defense of the new system at Yale, two things can be said. First, that virtually anyone admitted to Yale these days, give or take a few hockey players or tackles, can probably pass the courses offered—the effects of original sin aside. Second, the possibility of receiving an F may, as claimed, have inhibited some students from taking risky courses. But, having said this, it virtually seems certain that the new system itself, paradoxically, will fail. In effect, the lowest available grade, D, will become the new failing grade. The student inhibited by the possibility of an F will be equally inhibited by the possibility of a D. In consequence the D will obsolesce. Few professors will award it. Further grade inflation will occur. The C will begin to erode. In time, students will be outraged by a B. It is perfectly envisionable that something resembling the military "fitness report" will emerge, where anything less than superlative is a failing mark.

In the light of recent historical experience, the traditional grading system, including a failing grade, looks better and better. True enough, it takes courage to apply it—plus the saving awareness that it expresses a less than infallible judgment.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In the *NR* August 18 issue I note that Jane Fonda accuses President Nixon of "genocide, biocide, ecocide, and perhaps even meteocide." I confess "meteocide" stumps me, and my reference books from dictionaries to cookbooks are no help. Being left with nothing but my own resources, I can only conclude that Mr. Nixon is determined to eradicate either a) meteors or b) the New York Mets.

Could you and your staff please enlighten me as to which of the above is correct? I am fond of meteors and would certainly hate to live in a meteorless universe. Conversely, as a devout Cincinnati Reds fan, I might view the eradication of the Mets as a not unhappy circumstance.

Since my support or non-support of Mr. Nixon hinges on this vital question, I would appreciate an answer. Sincerely yours,

Jo Corrine Magee
(Mrs. Alex Magee)
6240 Evergreen Ave.
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107

Dear Mrs. Magee: We called down to Re-elect, and the answer is as you hoped—it is the Mets who are set down for extinction, so okay, vote Nixon. Cordially

—WFB

■ The Honorable James L. Buckley
United States Senate
New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear James:

Next month, I propose to pass through the ivory gates of the Republic of Zambia for a 21-day period—hopefully not my last 21 days.

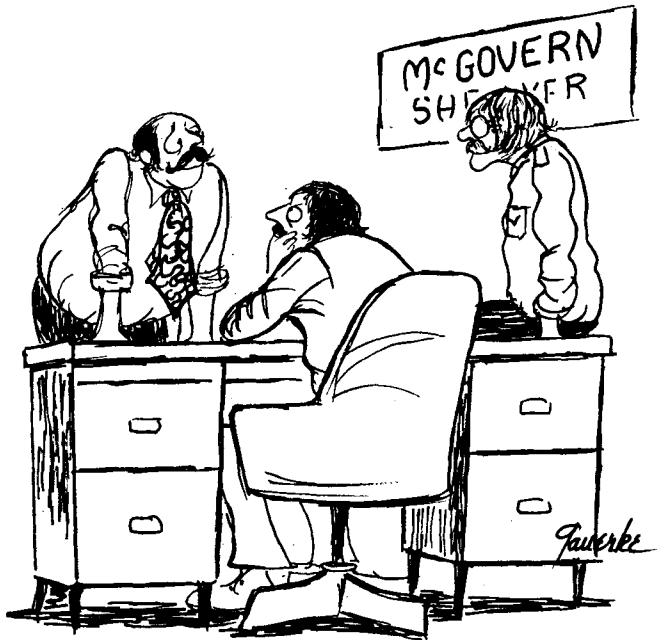
It has come to my attention that our brother Bill has been declared persona non grata in that shining example of democracy; and it has further come to my attention that Bill publicly allowed as how that, “on the whole, he would rather be banned from Zambia than have to go there.”

Accordingly, on the off chance that our brother’s unpopularity with the authorities there might wash off on me, I appeal to you for your aid in securing me the full protection which has been so gloriously granted by our State Department to vexed Americans wherever they may find themselves in trouble.

Consequently, would you be kind enough to dust off your Form Letter #3 and substitute for the sentence “One of our most illustrious citizens” the words “one of our most powerful witch doctors”? Armed with this and with the seal of your august office, I will dare to enter Zambia with my worries confined to elephants and lions. Affectionately,

John W. Buckley
Sharon, Conn.

■ WANTED, conservatives who would like to work in Washington for incoming members of Congress: lawyers,



“Watergate flopped, the war fizzled . . . what we need is a new crisis—a warm crisis—that will reach deep, deep into the heart of Middle America.”

businessmen, students, administrators, secretaries. Anyone interested should send a resumé to NATIONAL REVIEW, Box 1900, 150 E. 35th Street, New York, 10016.

■ Mr. Buckley:

On the *Today Show*, I kept seeing this vision of you a hundred years ago on a beautiful plantation, riding a white charger, leading in a coon hunt. I refrain from saying fox because the fox would be sure to outsmart you.

Why are you so likable? You aren’t all that harmless. Sincerely,

Kathryn C. Campasino

Next time you use that, Kathryn, be careful. Recent studies in the Zoological Institution at Berne establish that coons are in fact smarter than foxes. In between were McGovern delegates. Cordially, —WFB

■ Memo to: WFB

From: Jeff Hart

A number of Willmoore Kendall’s friends and students—in his case frequently overlapping categories—plan to establish in his memory an endowed teaching chair at the University of Dallas. At the time of his death Kendall, as you know, had established there a unique PhD program in literature and political philosophy. He was of course one of the principal mentors of modern American conservatism. The many of us who are indebted to Willmoore may wish to communicate with President Donald Cowan, University of Dallas, Irving, Texas.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am concerned about one of my favorite ladies, Mrs. Nika Hazelton. Please let us know about her health. I pray it is excellent.

Ilse Ryerson
Long Valley, New Jersey

Mrs. Hazelton has undergone surgery to replace a hip joint. She is convalescing at the hospital in Zurich, and hopes to be home in a few weeks. She (and we) appreciate your asking. —WFB

■ We were all sitting around drinking beer when it occurred to us that we ought to ask you. We keep a large poster of you on the wall so that whenever the urge comes upon us we can walk over and chuck you under chin. The question is, do you mind? Yours truly,

Roy Heimbach
John Howard
Risa Dworsky
Davvy Fuller
Kathy Heimbach
Marie Zaytoun
Raleigh, N.C.

*Yes I do. But you may kiss my hand, if you like—*WFB

Doing Business with the Kremlin

IN THE LATE 1930s a book was published with a title that became a popular slogan: *You Can't Do Business with Hitler!* "You ought not do business with Hitler" would have expressed the author's intent more accurately. His argument was moral, economic and strategic.

1. The Nazi regime is evil. By doing business with Nazi Germany we condone evil; we serve to make the regime seem legitimate to its subjects, to our own citizens and to world opinion. Doing business with a Nazi-ruled Germany thus strengthens Nazism.

2. The Nazis cannot be trusted. Moreover, their system subordinates normal economic activities to their political aims and totalitarian social structure. Doing business with them is risky even from a narrowly economic standpoint.

3. As an ideology and a movement, Nazism is inherently aggressive. A primary objective of its foreign trade transactions is to increase its military capability. By doing business with Nazi Germany we are building up a threat to the security of other nations, including our own.

Although the book was a bestseller, there were not many readers who accepted its injunction. Naturally there were high-sounding reasons offered for disregarding it. We must make a distinction between the Nazis and the German people, and it would be wrong to cut ourselves off from the people. Nazi tyranny arose from Germany's economic depression and will be softened by economic improvement, to which foreign trade will contribute. Business relations mean contact between us and the Germans, so that we get to know each other better, rid ourselves of suspicions, and discover our mutual interest in peace and well-being. Cutting down trade with Germany would force the Germans in on themselves, inducing

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

attitudes of hostility and paranoia. And so forth.

It is not unduly cynical to suppose that if such formulas had not been handy, others to the same purpose would have been invented. The controlling factor was the ineluctable search for profit that is at once the dynamic driving force and the prime vulnerability of a capitalist nation.

You Can't Do Business with Hitler! was journalistic and superficial, but, collected in tranquility, its triple argument is impressive on the record. And if we shift key to *You Can't Do Business with the Kremlin!* no further adjustment is needed to transpose the entire argument note for note.

Transposed to the Key of C

In fact, there is a fourth line of argument which, though relevant in some degree to business with fascism, applies more weightily to business with the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, all business, except a small mamma-poppa layer which has no significance for foreign trade, is state-owned, and there is a state monopoly of foreign trade. This means it is impossible for U.S. corporations to deal with Soviet principals in the usual way of foreign business. In all foreign business there is a political framework of treaties, governmental agreements and local law. But within that framework, in the case of non-Communist nations, individual corporations, banks or syndicates of one nation make deals with corporations, banks or syndicates of another nation, or set up affiliates to do business within the other nation. Thus foreign trade is an extension of the domestic economic system, operating in accord with its rules. But in the Soviet Union (and other Communist nations) there is only one economic principal: the state. All business from abroad is done with the state and only with the state, in accord with the goals of the state, which are not necessarily or primarily economic goals. Moreover, prices, wages, etc. in a Communist economy are incommensurate with those in a market economy.

From these conditions it results that when a non-Communist nation does business with a Communist nation, the government of the former as of the

latter becomes the dominating agent. State confronts state. Economics is politicized, as is being illustrated in the current Soviet-American trade developments.

This reinforces the already existing statist tendencies within a market (actually, mixed) economy such as ours, and introduces a variety of distortions. The rules of the market become subordinated to political operations on both sides. Favoritism and economically arbitrary windfalls become inevitable, as witness the grain deal with the Kremlin. The Communist state is often in a position to allocate business for political as well as economic purposes, as the Soviet Union has done with conspicuous success in France, Italy and a number of Latin American countries: to turn an enterprise into a sort of hybrid dependency; to use the business contacts for political ends; to finance local espionage and subversion; to reward friendly firms and individuals; to weaken firms when this is judged to be to Soviet interest; to gain scientific, technical and industrial intelligence; etc. There is no equalizing reciprocity in these byproducts, because a) there are no diverse, independent business entities in the Soviet Union to play against each other, and b) the Soviet Union remains closed except to the minimum degree required to exploit what the foreign trade brings.

Weights in the Balance

The moral, economic and political case here examined against doing business with the Kremlin—as with Hitler—is convincing so far as it goes. The dangers unquestionably exist. If a big expansion of trade with the Soviet Union is nevertheless a good thing, it can only be because there are still more cogent counterarguments.

From a practical standpoint it doesn't make much difference whether there are such adequate counterarguments. The drive for profit combined with the President's new ideology of global economism in any case guarantees that American corporations will do as much business with the Kremlin as they are given a chance to. In *NR's* next issue I shall consider actions that might at least reduce the negative balance. □

Candidate McGovern's "tax reform" schemes amount to mere jiggering with the inequitable status quo—to make it even more inequitable. Economist Reynolds suggests some reasonable alternatives

About Those Loopholes

ALAN REYNOLDS

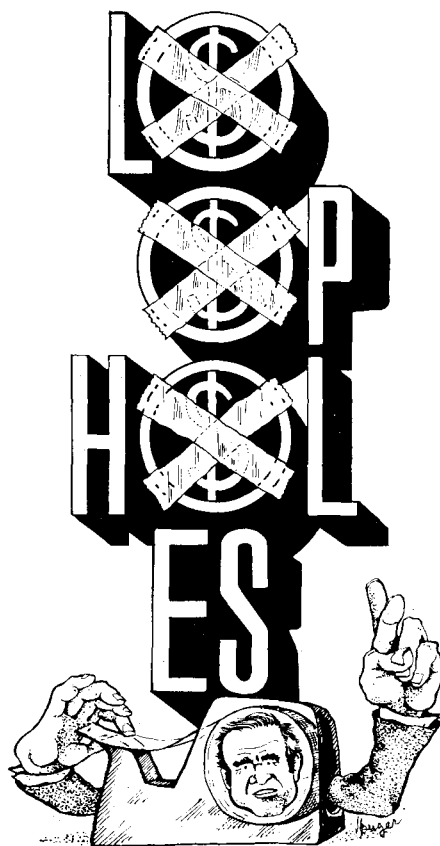
GEORGE McGOVERN has popularized the notion that by simply eliminating tax loopholes that benefit only the idle rich, we can reduce everyone else's taxes, finance massive new federal programs and raise the incomes of the poor. Journalists have often embellished this idea with bold splashes of statistics. According to Jack Anderson, "the rich have created the myth that they are taxed a higher percentage of their income than are the poor. . . . The amount they [the rich] avoid thanks to the tax loopholes, is a whopping \$50 billion a year." Harriet Van Horne says, "at least \$63 billion in taxes are lost each year through what the Nixon Administration prefers to call 'tax preferences.' Some experts place the figure at \$200 billion [sic]. . . . As our tax laws now stand, we run a welfare state for the rich."

When McGovern finally got around to offering a comprehensive tax-reform plan, however, it turned out to yield (in 1975) a disappointing \$12.6 billion from individuals and \$9.4 billion from corporations. Even these figures are suspect, since they depend critically on debatable assumptions about, for example, the extent to which property now subject to lower capital-gains tax rates will continue to be bought, sold and passed on to heirs when taxed as regular income.

Increase Is Not Reform

Let's look at three major features of McGovern's tax reform.

Capital gains: Suppose a man bought a piece of property for \$10,000 and sold it for \$12,500 after five years of 5 per cent annual inflation. McGovern's plan would tax the \$2,500 gain as income, even though it represents no in-



crease at all in real purchasing power. In recent years, 40 per cent of all capital gains have been due to inflation. Suppose another man had a salary of \$20,000, plus \$10,000 from selling all of his stock for half of what he paid for it. McGovern would tax the \$30,000 as income, with no offsetting deduction for the capital loss.

If capital gains were taxed as ordinary income, many investors would surely move from investments yielding an uncertain return in the form of capital gains to investments yielding a certain return in the form of, say, interest.

Those who did continue to invest in equity (ownership) capital would demand dividends now rather than capital gains later, thus reducing retained earnings as a major source of business expansion. Owners would also avoid selling capital assets in order to avoid the tax, thus reducing the mobility of capital and the volume of taxable (realized) capital gains. The result of all these considerations is that high taxes on capital gains are likely to be self-defeating.

The major inequities of taxing capital gains as income could be alleviated by adjusting long-term capital gains and losses for inflation, and allowing capital losses to be fully deducted against all forms of income. If this were done, though, full taxation of capital gains might well yield *less* revenue than the existing system of taxing half of the gains and limiting loss-deductions to one thousand dollars.

Accelerated depreciation: Suppose a business bought a machine for 100,000 dollars. The machine has an expected life of ten years, according to Treasury guidelines, so straight-line depreciation would allow a deduction of \$10,000 a year. Depreciation is no more a "give-away" than is the individual's deduction of costs of earning income. Now, suppose that ten years of inflation raise the replacement cost of that \$100,000 machine to 150,000 dollars. Simply maintaining the same stock of capital will therefore require a 50 per cent increase in investment. Depreciation rules, being based on original cost, do not allow for this effect of inflation. We could safely stop allowing businesses to

Mr. Reynolds is an associate editor of NATIONAL REVIEW.

write off their equipment over shorter periods, as McGovern suggests, only if we also substituted estimated replacement cost for historic cost as the basis for depreciation. Again, the net effect of this reform would probably be less, not more, revenue.

Depletion allowances: In industries which deal with exhaustible resources, exploration and development costs (as well as production costs) must be subtracted from the value of oil in the ground or ore in the mine to arrive at a meaningful concept of net income. Depletion allowances are a simplified way of allowing for this diminution of the value of, say, an oil discovery over a period of time. To permit recovery of sunk capital, investors may deduct 22 per cent of gross income, but not more than 50 per cent of net. Since individual cases deviate from the average, lucky investors are able to recover more than their actual costs (but unlucky investors go broke). These "excess" allowances were intended by Congress as an incentive to compensate for the high risk in oil exploration, and they only amount to about \$200 million. McGovern claims he can raise \$1.4 billion by eliminating "excessive" depletion allowances, so he evidently must regard any depletion allowance as excessive.

The petroleum industry is one of

those cases where the government gives back with one hand what it takes away with the other. Specifically, the income-tax breaks are offset by other taxes, so the total of all direct taxes on petroleum companies is higher than for other industries, and indirect (excise) taxes are much higher. Even the federal income tax alone is not nearly so low for the petroleum industry as has been indicated through unfair comparisons of domestic taxes with worldwide income. (U.S. and foreign income taxes amount to about 45 per cent of worldwide income.) Any business facing higher taxes, direct or indirect, is likely to raise prices or lower expenditures. Neither alternative seems desirable when we're facing high living costs and an imminent energy crisis. Relief from other taxes or a direct subsidy could be substituted for depletion allowances, to compensate for high risk and capital exhaustion, but this too might well yield less revenue than the existing arrangements.

Who Gets the Loopholes?

It has been said that any exemption or deduction is "worth more to the rich," because exempting \$50 from taxation in the 70 per cent bracket leaves the taxpayer with \$35, while exempting \$50 in the 14 per cent

bracket leaves the taxpayer with only seven dollars. As persuasive as this seems, it is largely irrelevant to the redistribution of the tax burden. For one thing, \$7 represents 20 per cent of the tax liability of a family of four in the 14 per cent bracket, while \$35 is only one-tenth of 1 per cent of the tax liability of such a family in the 70 per cent bracket. Moreover, there are so few people in the top brackets that redistributing all those \$35 increases would not begin to compensate lower classes for the loss of tax relief: Of \$106 billion in exemptions in 1969, less than \$1 billion were granted to those earning more than \$50,000; of \$93 billion in deductions, only \$6.6 billion were granted to those earning over fifty thousand dollars.

Another popular game is to figure how much money the government would have raised if people really paid the nominal rates of 50 to 70 per cent, and call the difference between this sum and the amounts actually paid a "subsidy to the rich" or "welfare for the rich." Of course, Congress never dreamed that anyone would be so docile as to pay 70 per cent of his income in income taxes and another 20 to 25 per cent in other levies. The congressional strategy has been to reduce or eliminate the tax on that portion of income devoted to socially desirable expenditures (charity, housing, health care, risky investment)—and compensate for this by taxing the surplus at very high rates.

The trouble is that this approach has created a maze of complexities, distorted market decisions and misemployed an army of tax attorneys and accountants. Combining simplification with equity will require massive cutbacks in ineffective federal programs as well as broadening the tax base—spending reform as well as tax reform. The tax base was so narrow in 1939 that only the top 5 per cent paid any income tax at all; now the tax hits nearly three-fourths of the population. The former narrow-based tax was obviously much more "progressive" precisely because federal tax receipts took one-third as large a share of net national product as they do today. Extreme claims about the revenue available from broadening the tax base are mostly based on bringing even larger portions of low and middle incomes into the tax base, without compensating reductions in tax rates or increases in

Chart 1

Major Taxes as a Percentage of Total Income

Annual Income (\$)	Federal Income Tax ¹	Social Security Tax ²	Corp. Profits Tax ³	State & Local Taxes ³	Total	Govt. Transfer Payments	Net Tax
0-2000	.5	7.6	6.0	27.2	41.3	106.5	(-65.2)
2-4000	1.0	6.5	4.3	15.7	27.5	48.5	(-21.0)
4-6000	2.0	6.7	3.6	12.1	24.4	19.6	4.8
6-8000	4.0	6.8	3.2	10.7	24.7	8.6	16.1
8-10,000	6.0	6.2	2.9	10.1	25.2	5.5	19.7
10-15,000	8.6	5.8	2.9	9.9	27.2	3.9	23.3
15-25,000	11.1	4.6	3.9	9.4	29.0	3.0	26.0
25-50,000	13.9	2.5	7.5	7.8	31.7	2.1	29.6
50-100,000	22.2	1.0	15.4	6.7	45.3	.4	44.9
100,000 & over	32.6	.5	18.0	5.0	56.1	.1	56.0

¹ C. Schultze (ed.), *Setting National Priorities: The 1973 Budget* (Brookings Inst., 1972), p. 434. Figures under \$10,000 and over \$100,000 are rough averages to adjust for the different income brackets used in the Schultze volume.

² All other figures are from R. A. Herriot & H. P. Miller, "Who Paid the Taxes in 1968?" (U.S. Bureau of the Census). The time lapse probably understates progression because of increased transfer payments, the move to state income taxes and the rising Social Security tax base. Figures over \$100,000 (except the federal income tax) are my own guesstimates.

³ The incidence of corporate profits and property taxes is necessarily based on very debatable assumptions: See Schultze, *op cit.*, pp. 425 & 444; and G. A. Bishop, *The Corporation Income Tax* (Tax Foundation, 1968).

exemptions. The \$77 billion in "loop-holes" that economists Joseph Pechman and Benjamin Okner discovered, for example, is almost twice as much as the entire income of all those earning more than fifty thousand dollars.

Spreading the Illth

A person's income reflects what other people are willing to give up in exchange for his or her contribution toward producing or distributing some good or service. Since efforts and abilities differ—in economic activities as well as in athletic, artistic and political activities—the rewards differ too. Un-

equality, and no larger a share than the top 20 per cent receives in most other modern nations, including Sweden. Moreover, the fact that the shares going to the top and bottom quintiles of the population have remained essentially unchanged through decades of supposedly egalitarian measures is more of an indictment of the welfare state than of capitalism.

The poor might well be better off if we'd simply return their share of the taxes which now finance \$119 billion in federal welfare and retirement plans, and \$64 billion in subsidies. These two sums alone could provide over \$7,000 a year for every man, woman and child

come redistribution as reducing high incomes, period. It is true that some types of tax reform can be devised to achieve that goal, though all income classes would be affected somewhat (see Chart 2). McGovern's total program, however, would reduce low incomes as well. Chart 3 shows that after tax reform and defense cuts have been subtracted from a very limited list of McGovern's campaign promises, there is a gap of \$95 billion to be made up primarily by doubling payroll taxes (for health insurance, expanded Social Security and an unknown sum for defense-unemployment benefits). Payroll taxes are very regressive, because they exempt incomes above rather than below a certain level, and since 1954 they have grown from 10 to 29 per cent of all federal revenue. As Robert Dietsch noted in the *Nation* (April 10), "Some of the liberals who now advocate reform voted without a peep in the past for more payroll taxes and less income taxes."

Toward an Alternative

Conservative economists have long advocated extensive tax reforms as part of a program to reduce the scope of government, minimize taxation of the poor and establish a simple, low flat-rate tax. The broadening of the tax base, on this approach, is to be accompanied by compensating reductions in tax rates. Liberal economists, on the other hand, see tax reform as a way of reducing high incomes and financing even more special-interest legislation—a way of penalizing success in the private sector while rewarding failure in the public sector. Federal income maintenance and Great Society programs—Social Security, welfare, veterans and unemployment benefits, housing subsidies, grants-in-aid, food stamps, school lunches, scholarships and student loans, Medicare and Medicaid—have grown from \$30 billion in 1963 to \$110 billion in 1973. If government officials can't solve poverty with that amount of money (to say nothing of state and local spending), perhaps they should return the money to those who have been taxed into poverty in order to pay for their own (and others') "benefits."

Spending reform is an essential prerequisite to any meaningful tax reform. The existing tax load is simply too heavy to move. For a starter, Congress should consider abolishing all categori-

less high incomes are obtained by force, there is nothing immoral about them, nor any sense in which they can be said to have been obtained at anyone else's expense. There *is* something immoral, though, about forcing people to share their incomes or to work for someone else's benefit (in the private sector, these activities are called theft and slavery).

Every new exposé of income differences ("inequality") reminds us, once again, that the top 20 per cent of the population earns more than 40 per cent of all income (usually without mentioning that they also pay 65 per cent of all income taxes). Yet, this is only twice as large a share as the top 20 per cent would get under complete

below the poverty line, if that were the intention. Instead, federal social spending just shuffles income around within the upper and middle classes—from those who do not have any political power to those who do (see G. F. Will, "The Welfare State," *NR*, July 7). Much more poverty relief could be accomplished through redirecting and eliminating government spending than by again raising taxes on achievement (which are already too high: See Chart 1). Though coercive redistribution is not morally defensible, neither is government aid to the wealthy through farm and airplane subsidies, free colleges, free recreational areas and subsidized operas.

Senator McGovern conceives of in-

Chart 2
Do the Rich Pay Their Share?
(1971)

Annual Income (\$)	Number of Families ¹ (millions)	Number of Unrelated Individuals ¹ (millions)	Approx. Total Income ² (\$ billions)	Approx. Income Tax ² (\$ billions)	Effect of Tax Reforms ³ (\$ billions)
0-10,000	25.7	14.8	263	20	.5
10-20,000	22.2	1.3	282	35	.7
20-50,000	5.1	.2	90	18	1.3
50,000 & over	.3	—	42	15	4.9

¹ Department of Commerce, "Consumer Income" (July 1972). These figures for the "\$15,000-\$24,999" group have been divided at the \$20,000 point according to the ratios (75/25) shown in tax returns.

² The 1971 income tax will yield only slightly more than the 1969 income tax (and substantially less than 1970), and will be somewhat more progressive. Actual taxes for 1969 have been adjusted slightly to approximate these changes. Adjusted gross income for 1969 has been increased by 10 per cent to allow roughly for the increase in incomes.

³ Derived from Treasury official Edwin Cohen's testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, *U.S. News and World Report* (August 7, 1972). These totals include excess depletion allowances, special treatment for capital gains, the investment tax credit, deductions for exploration and development, accelerated depreciation, and interest on state and local bonds. Adding the figures together like this exaggerates the revenue potential, for reasons explained by Under Secretary Cohen.

cal and non-monetary aid; price supports; price, wage and interest regulations; guaranteed loans and subsidies—\$100 billion in savings would be a modest goal.

Next, the personal exemption might be set at a fixed percentage above the poverty line (say, 150 per cent), and vanishing with rising income: e.g., a \$6,000 exemption minus one-half of the amount by which income exceeds \$6,000 for a family of four. Those below this line could receive a negative tax payment amounting to one-fourth of the difference between what they earn and the exemption. (The particular illustration used in Chart 4 involves a slightly higher tax on middle incomes than the existing system—on the assumption of offsetting reductions in payroll and property taxes.) Some such plan—even without the negative tax—would introduce increasing tax relief at lower incomes (Continentials call this a “degressive” tax) in place of progressive confiscation at the top. This is based on the inability of the poor to pay taxes, not on the more tenuous notion that a man with \$100,000 has *more than* twice the “ability to pay” of one with fifty thousand dollars. If a private business charged prices according to the prevailing concepts of “ability to pay,” we would condemn the practice as a discriminating monopoly—not praise it as “progressive pricing.”

Simplicity Requires Flat Rates

A graduated tax yields very little revenue, discourages effort, reduces

loanable funds, perpetuates existing accumulations of business and personal wealth, and creates insoluble complications such as income-splitting and averaging of fluctuating incomes (especially capital gains).

On a tax base broadened to include about 85 per cent of all personal income (the comparable figure is now about 50 per cent), a 20 per cent flat rate would yield \$200 billion in 1975, plus \$32 billion from corporate profits. That is about \$53 billion more than the existing system will yield, and this sum added to the spending reductions would be more than enough to finance a generous vanishing exemption and negative tax.

A few additional suggestions:

► Tax capital gains—adjusted for inflation and spread out over as many years as the asset was held at the income tax rate, with full offsetting deduction of capital losses.

► Limit deductions to abnormally burdensome expenditures, narrowly defined business expenses and other costs of earning income (including child care and commuting).

► Eliminate the tax-exempt status of income from future state and local securities, and return the proceeds to the states and localities.

► Either tax corporate profits at the same rate as individual income (without taxing those profits again when paid out as dividends), or abolish the corporate profits tax and instead require undistributed earnings (and all dividends) to be reported and taxed as stockholder income.

► Tax inheritances and gifts as aver-

Chart 3

The McGovern Tax Burden (in \$ billions)

NEW REVENUES REQUIRED:	
Health Insurance ¹	60
Major Campaign Promises ²	56
Projected Deficit (at 4% Unemployment) ¹	17
Day Care ¹	14
Total	147
TO BE PAID FOR BY:	
Defense Reductions	30
Tax Reform: Individual	13
Tax Reform: Business	9
Total	52
Increase in Income or Payroll Tax	95 billion

¹ C. Schultze, *op. cit.*, Chs. 7, 8 & 13. The day-care figure is a mid-range estimate: The Schultze volume estimated \$12 to \$17 billion. Health insurance and day care are only two of several new spending proposals in the Democratic Platform.

² J. Tobin, *N.Y. Times*, July 18. This list is far from complete: See A. Reynolds, *N.Y. Times*, September 14; House Republican Conference, “The McGovern Budget”; D. J. Ott, *Nixon, McGovern and the Federal Budget* (American Enterprise Inst., 1972).

aged income, and eliminate the loophole of generation-skipping trusts. Make original cost the basis of taxes on inherited capital which has appreciated or declined in value (but levy the tax only when the gain is realized).

► Permit vested participants in private pension and profit-sharing plans (which would be federally certified and insured) to drop out of the regressive and actuarially unsound Social Security system.

It isn't modern conservatives, but old-fashioned liberals who are defending the status quo and preventing the construction of a truly equitable tax system. Nothing much can be done to put money and power back into the hands of the people if we aren't willing even to consider dismantling all of the Great Society programs, most of the New Deal and, yes, even demonstrably ineffective elements of Social Security. Only by ridding ourselves of these bad habits can we devise a reform of taxes and spending which will minimize taxes on the poor, stop the federal erosion of state and local tax bases, and restore the profit and income incentives that alone can create prosperity. □

Chart 4

A Degressive Tax (in dollars)

Income	Excess Over \$6000 Exemption	25% Negative Tax	50% Vanishing Exemption	Taxable Income (-exemption & 15% deduction)	20% Tax	Net Income
2000	(-4000)	1000	—	—	—	3000
4000	(-2000)	500	—	—	—	4500
6000	—	—	6000	—	—	6000
8000	2000	—	5000	1800	360	7640
10,000	4000	—	4000	4500	900	9100
12,000	6000	—	3000	7200	1440	10,560
14,000	8000	—	2000	9900	1980	12,020
16,000	10,000	—	1000	12,600	2540	13,460
18,000	12,000	—	—	15,300	3060	14,940

*A handy election-eve rundown. What seats the GOP
may win, what seats it could lose. And,
more important for conservatives: Will the new
legislators tilt the Congress to the right?*

In Quest of a New Majority

M. STANTON EVANS

ON FIRST APPRAISAL, the impending victory of Richard Nixon would seem to mark the advent of a new Republican era in American politics. The President, after all, has long been known as an explicit partisan and his return to the White House by a decisive margin would appear to mean his party has come of age. At a minimum, it ought to be something more than a personal victory for the man at the top of the ticket. Yet as election day draws near, Richard Nixon '72 increasingly resembles Dwight Eisenhower '56—a candidate who for transient reasons can expect a smashing individual triumph, but whose party continues to languish.

Nixon himself has spoken of a "new majority," and there is evidence that his own campaign is being powerfully aided by a constellation of forces from which a ruling majority might be fashioned. But proof of such a majority is not mere victory for a single person in the Electoral College, important as that is, but victory for many people in the Congress. This was the goal which eluded Republicans for most of the years under Eisenhower, and the party's legislative failure prepared the way for a recrudescence of Democratic power. Now there are omens which suggest that Nixon may fail in this respect as well—that, indeed, so far as the current election is concerned, the White House isn't even trying very hard.

On paper, the arithmetic of congressional control is deceptively simple. There are 55 Democrats and 45 Republicans in the Senate, 254 Democrats and 177 Republicans in the House. Which means a pickup of five in the upper chamber, 41 in the lower, would deliver the Congress with its chairmanships and opulent majority staffing into



the hands of the GOP. Neither objective would seem to be impossible in a strong Republican year, and control of the Senate in particular would appear to be a lead-pipe cinch. But congressional victories which work out nicely as abstractions are harder to come by at the polling place.

There is to begin with the fact that the maestros of this year's Republican campaign have made little effort to spread Nixon coattails, preferring to concentrate on re-electing the President by the largest possible margin. If the win is sufficiently huge, of course, almost anything could happen—including congressional victories in areas at present unexpected. And in that case the pre-election data can be thrown out the window. In the meantime, those data suggest that diversion of funds to the presidential race, White House reluctance to campaign for candidates down the line, and the coddling of big-name

Democrats congenial to the President have undermined the chances of several Republican aspirants to Congress.

Compounding the problem is the high attrition rate among congressional Republicans. Erosion began in 1970 when some of the staunchest House conservatives were recruited by Nixon to run for the Senate. Some of them made it, but many did not. Now a further reduction of conservative strength occurs through an abnormal number of retirements, including such stalwarts as Byrnes of Wisconsin, Smith of California, Belcher of Oklahoma, Jonas of North Carolina, Bow of Ohio, Hall of Missouri etc. plus several Southern Democrats. To replace these departing heroes with equal numbers of conservatives is task enough. But to replace their combined experience and committee rankings is manifestly impossible. Far from sitting comfortably atop a new majority, in sum, conservatives and Republicans are confronted with a major rebuilding job. Prospects for getting construction started are roughly as follows.

The Northeast

In recent elections the Eastern quadrant of the country has been a stronghold of the national Democratic Party. This time around, by all accounts, Richard Nixon will do extremely well there. The outlook for Republican legislative gains, however, is spotty. By the luck of the draw, only three of the region's nine Democratic senators must face the electorate, and one of these is

Mr. Evans is editor of the Indianapolis News and chairman of the American Conservative Union.

heavily favored, another mildly so, and a third is close to even money for re-election. The possibility of turnovers in the House is somewhat better, although no one willing to be quoted is predicting a runaway triumph for the GOP.

Republicans are hoping to gain one of the Senate seats they need in **New Hampshire**—where former Governor Wesley Powell is challenging incumbent Democrat Thomas McIntyre. The morning line on this one is that McIntyre, first elected in 1962, has done his homework and cultivated his constituency, and is therefore favored. But Powell is a tough campaigner, an articulate conservative, and a previous winner of statewide elections. Add the fact that the Nixon tide is running stronger in New Hampshire than almost anywhere else in the East, and Powell has to be considered an excellent possibility to prove the experts wrong.

Also of interest in the Granite State is the gubernatorial contest in which Meldrim Thomson Jr., a knowledgeable conservative, is battling conservative Democrat Roger Crowley and a liberal independent. Thomson scored a stunning upset in the September primary when he defeated incumbent Gov. Walter Peterson. Principal issue was Peterson's advocacy of a statewide sales tax. If Thomson wins, the low-tax, economy position will have an effective champion in the Concord statehouse. In other New Hampshire races, Republican Congressmen Louis Wyman and James Cleveland are heavy favorites for re-election.

Next door in **Vermont**, Republican Governor Deane Davis is retiring, and Republican Luther Hackett is likely to succeed him, on a balanced-budget, no-tax-hike program. Vermont's lone congressman, Republican Richard Mallary, seems headed for an easy re-election victory. The same may be said of the U.S. Senate's only woman, Margaret Chase Smith of **Maine**, and only Negro, Edward Brooke of **Massachusetts**. Both are Republicans. A House race of ideological interest occurs in the 4th CD of Massachusetts, the seat now held by radical Democrat Father Robert Drinan. The Republican challenger, Martin Linsky, is an extreme liberal who squeaked through the primary when conservative votes divided among a number of candidates. Conservative hopes now rest with independent candidate John T. Collins, who aims to

become the Jim Buckley of the Bay State.

Eastern Republicans have one other opportunity for a Senate pickup in **Rhode Island**, where former Governor and Navy Secretary John Chafee opposes Senator Claiborne Pell. Chafee is said to be winning, though Pell is making a fight of it. A partisan change would not mean very much philosophically, however, since Chafee himself is quite liberal. Rhode Island GOPers also have a shot at the governorship, with former Attorney General Herbert de Simone as their standard-bearer and reputedly ahead. In **Connecticut**, the 3rd CD (New Haven) is viewed as a possible turnover. State Representative Henry Pavinelli is contesting Democratic Congressman Robert Giaimo, and is thought to have a reasonable chance of victory.

New York has no major statewide races, but promises several new Republican seats in the House of Representatives. In the 6th CD (Queens), Conservative-Republican John Gallagher is rated a good bet against liberal Democrat Lester Wolff. In the 17th (Staten Island), Conservative-Republican Mario Belardino goes against old-line Democrat John Murphy. In the 24th (Westchester), Carl A. Vergari tackles Republican-turned-Democrat Ogden Reid. Upstate in the 32nd CD (Syracuse), antiwelfare Republican Leonard Koldin is given an excellent chance of ousting four-term Congressman James M. Hanley. In the neighboring 31st, Conservative Donald Mitchell is running hard against gun control and could take the seat vacated by Republican Congressman Alexander Pirnie.

Elsewhere in the East, the likelihood of conservative Republican gains is slim. In **New Jersey**, conservative independent candidate Charles Wiley is campaigning against ultra-liberal Republican Clifford Case in hopes of rolling up a sizable protest vote. In the 3rd CD (Long Branch), youthful conservative William Dowd is said to be making headway against Democrat James J. Howard. In the 4th (Trenton), former McGovern leader Frank Thompson, the incumbent, faces antibusing Republican Peter Garibaldi. A close contest is expected. In the newly created 13th CD, strongly Republican, GOPer Joseph Maraziti is the favorite, but is getting a battle from Mrs. Helen Meyner, wife of the former governor. In neighboring **Delaware**, statewide tax

hikes are generating trouble for Republican Governor Russell Peterson, although the Nixon surge could pull him through a tight election. Sen. Caleb Boggs and Rep. Pierre du Pont, both Republicans, are favored for re-election.

Across the way in **Pennsylvania's** 4th CD (Philadelphia suburbs) standout conservative Bill Pfender is running for Congress against liberal Democrat Joshua Eilberg. The latter is supposed to be a decided favorite, but Pfender has banged away at busing, welfarism and permissiveness toward criminals, and could sharply improve his underdog status. This is one to watch for election night. At the western end of the state, in Pittsburgh's 20th CD, Dr. William Hunt is the Republican hopeful against Democrat Joseph Gaydos. Although Gaydos won with 77 per cent of the vote two years ago, Hunt's chances are taken seriously in Republican political circles.

Democrat Jennings Randolph is the senior senator from **West Virginia**, and by all reports will enjoy the same distinction after November seventh. Chief political interest in the state is focused on the governor's race, where Republican chief executive Arch Moore is fighting back a challenge from a youthful Croesus, John D. Rockefeller IV. **Maryland** has no major federal contests, but could elect a Republican representative in the newly created 4th CD (Annapolis). The GOP candidate here is Marjorie Holt, clerk of the Anne Arundel Court, and a moderate conservative.

The Midwest

Problems confronting the congressional GOP are illustrated with painful clarity in the Middle West. This is the heartland of the party as of the country, and Nixon could sweep every state in the region. Only in Wisconsin and South Dakota is McGovern being given a chance, and preliminary surveys suggest he is trailing in these states as elsewhere. Yet despite the commanding Nixon lead, Republican prospects of harvesting additional seats in Congress are not impressive. Indeed, the GOP will have some trouble hanging on to the Senate seats it already holds. And while the outlook for the House is better, expected gains will be marginal unless the Nixon coattails are considerably broadened.

In **Ohio**, Republicans now control sixteen of 23 House districts, and no major statewide offices are up for election. The party will do well to retain its sixteen congressmen—one of whom, of special interest to U.S. conservatives, is John Ashbrook of the 17th CD (Mansfield). Ashbrook is favored for re-election over Democrat Raymond C. Beck. In the 16th CD (Canton), GOPer Ralph Regula is touted to win the seat of retiring Representative Frank Bow. State Senator Tennyson Guyer is likewise expected to keep the 4th CD (Lima), vacated by Rep. William McCulloch, in Republican hands.

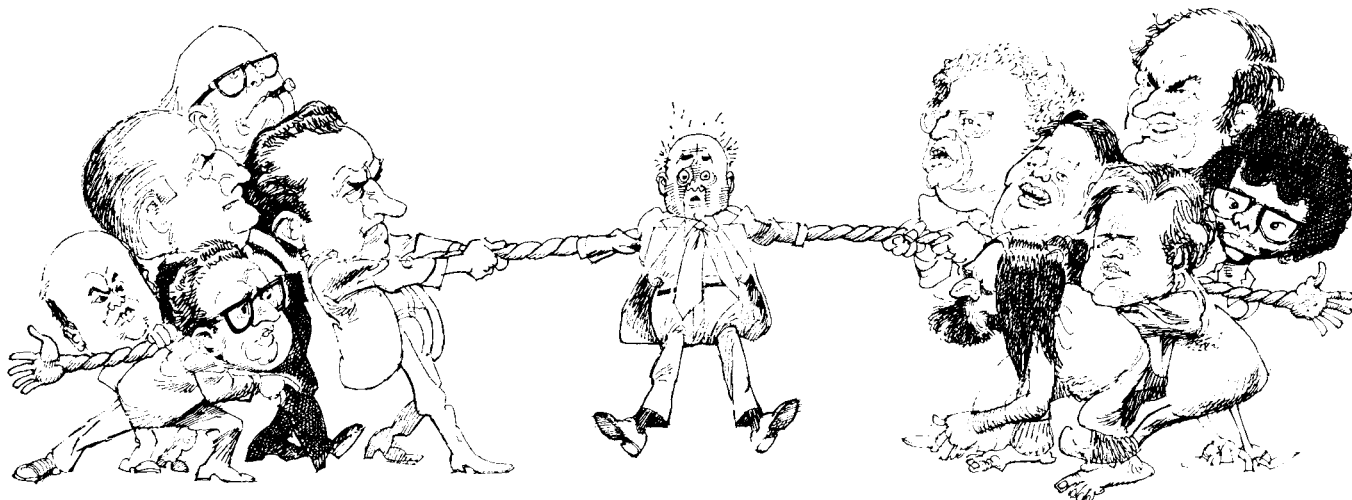
In **Indiana**, there is a governor's contest but no Senate race. The Republican hopeful is House Speaker Otis Bowen, hampered by identification with plans to double major statewide taxes. Early polls showed him trailing former Governor Matthew Welsh. If the Nixon margin goes as high as 300,000 votes,

publicans and conservatives have a major opportunity to pick up a new House seat, however, in the newly drawn 18th CD, where the GOP contender is former State Senator Robert Huber. In theory the district is Democratic but Huber has run well there and has proved himself a potent campaigner. A tough and knowledgeable conservative, Huber would be a major asset for the cause if he makes it to Washington. (Huber is also former chairman of the fledgling Conservative Party of Michigan, which has endorsed a number of candidates and fielded others of its own—including youthful Peter McAlpine, who is running for the Wayne State University Board of Governors.)

A confusing election picture has unfolded in the state of **Illinois**. Nixon is far ahead, as is ultra-liberal Republican Sen. Charles Percy, and it appears the GOP could gain a number of House

gan). National conservative spokesman Philip Crane is a shoo-in for re-election in the newly drawn 12th CD.

Wisconsin has no major contests, and Republicans will have trouble holding their own in the House. Redistricting has thrown together incumbents Alvin O'Konski, Republican, and David Obey, Democrat, and the latter is favored. In the 8th CD, Ways and Means leader John Byrnes has retired and the battle to succeed him pits state legislator Harold Froehlich against Democrat Robert Cornell. Froehlich is a first-rate conservative who fought hard for traditional principle as Speaker of the State Assembly and can be expected to do the same when he arrives in Washington. A Democratic Senate seat is up in **Minnesota**, but hardly anybody believes Republican Philip Hansen will take it away from Walter Mondale. Few changes are anticipated in the House, although Republican John



Bowen could pull through. State Attorney General Theodore Sendak, a strong conservative, is favored for re-election. In House races, conservative Republicans Earl Landgrebe (2nd CD) and David Dennis (10th) were thought to be in difficulty earlier but recent soundings suggest both will be re-elected. In the 3rd CD, aggressive Republican Don Newman is waging an uphill fight against arch-liberal John Brademas. Most likely Republican pickups are the 4th CD (Allan Bloom) and the 11th (William Hudnut).

Republican Senate Whip Robert P. Griffin is aided in his fight with Attorney General Frank Kelley in **Michigan** by a vigorous antibusing stand, but observers say the race is tight. Again, the GOP must battle to hold its own. Re-

seats created by redistricting. Yet Republican Governor Richard Ogilvie has been running behind in the polls. Percy's opponent is Chicago Congressman Roman Pucinski, closely tied to the Daley apparatus and not viewed with favor by downstate Republicans who otherwise might defect. Ogilvie is neck-and-neck with maverick Democrat Daniel Walker. Once known as a conservative, Ogilvie opted for a statewide tax hike which won him the kudos of liberal journalists and the enmity of average citizens. If Nixon wins big enough, Ogilvie could make it. In House races, the GOP has a chance for pickups in the 3rd CD (Robert Hanrahan), the 10th (Sam Young), the 11th (John Hoellen), the 17th (George O'Brien), and the 21st (Edward Madi-

Haavens is said to be pressing Democrat Bob Bergland in the 7th CD.

Due South in **Iowa**, Republican Senator Jack Miller and Governor Robert Ray are strongly favored for re-election. Though a "moderate" in some respects, Ray has won considerable popularity for his hardline stand opposing increased taxes. Conservatives H. R. Gross and William Scherle are considered safe for re-election to the House, but Representative John Kyl is said to be in danger as he meets Neal Smith in a battle of redistricted incumbents. Liberal GOPer Fred Schwengel (1st CD) could also be in trouble. In **Missouri**, moderate Republican Kit Bond may be boosted toward the governorship by a strong Nixon showing. Longtime conservative leader Dur-

ward "Doc" Hall has retired from the 7th CD, but his absence may in part be compensated if young conservative Russell Sloan can pull off an upset in the neighboring 6th (St. Joseph).

Kansas incumbents including Democratic Governor Robert Docking and liberal Republican Senator James Pearson are comfortably in the lead. All Republican House members seem assured of re-election, and the state's one Democratic congressman, William Roy, could fall to Republican Charles D. McAttee. A possible Senate turnover looms in **Oklahoma**, where moderate Republican Dewey Bartlett, a former governor, competes with Representative Ed Edmondson for the chair discreetly vacated by Senator Fred Harris. Staunch conservative Page Belcher is retiring from the 1st CD, and Republicans are aiming to keep the seat with former Tulsa Mayor James M. Hewgley.

Some good news for conservatives is that the status quo will almost certainly prevail in **Nebraska**. This means Senator Carl Curtis, a conservative mainstay in the upper chamber, will triumph over Republican-turned-Democrat Terry Carpenter. Representative Charles Thone has a marginal district (Lincoln), but the betting is that all three of the state's Republican congressmen will be back in Washington come January. **South Dakota** Republicans, in the meantime, are struggling to retain the Senate seat of ailing Sen. Karl Mundt. The Republican candidate is State Senator Robert Hirsch, a conservative, who takes on liberal Democratic Representative James Abourezk. This contest, as well as the campaign of GOPer Carveth Thompson to unseat Governor Richard Kneip, will vary with the performance of George McGovern on his native heath. Republicans John Vickerman and James Abdnor are trying to regain the state's two seats in Congress for the GOP. **North Dakota** has no Senate race, but the governorship held by the Democrats for the past twelve years could go to Republican moderate Richard Larsen.

The South

If Republicans are to gain the seats required for control of the Senate they will have to get the job done in Dixie. This is where the largest number of Democratic incumbencies are open to contest and where the anti-McGovern fever is at its peak. On the other hand,

it is also the region in which state-level Democratic loyalties are strongest, and in which voters have proved most adept at separating presidential opinions from their views on state and local candidates.

Of the fourteen Democratic Senate seats at stake across the nation, no fewer than seven are in the South. Those in Arkansas and Mississippi are rated absolutely safe and another, in Louisiana, might go to an independent. Those in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia could conceivably turn Republican. Republican seats in Texas, Kentucky and Tennessee are being vigorously contested and one or more could flip to the Democrats if ticket-splitting becomes severe. An optimistic projection for the Republicans has the party holding its present strength while picking up two and at the outside three of the Democratic seats.

One possible conversion is the **Virginia** seat now held by Senator William Spong, who faces Republican Congressman William Scott. Most observers believe Scott has a fighting chance but is still the underdog, his prospects tied to Nixon's showing and the willingness of Harry Byrd Democrats to leave the increasingly liberal house of their fathers. Republicans are trying to hold Scott's House seat with Nixonite Stanford Parris, and also hope to retain the seat of retiring Representative Richard Poff with former State Representative Caldwell Butler. A partisan turnover is possible in the 4th CD (Portsmouth), where the retirement of conservative Democrat Wat Abbitt opens a path for Republican Robert Daniel.

Most clear-cut of the Southern Senate races occurs in **North Carolina**, where nationally known conservative Jesse Helms is locked in combat with arch-liberal Democrat Nick Galifianakis. Early surveys showed Galifianakis in the lead, and North Carolina Republicans have experienced difficulty in previous statewide elections, but the GOP believes that Helms is gaining and could take it all by November seventh. If so, an added bonus from the Republican and conservative standpoint is that the GOP could co-opt the House seat occupied by Galifianakis. The Republican candidate here is an outspoken conservative aptly named Jack Hawke, who ran a strong race in the district two years ago. In the 9th CD (Charlotte), where Republican Charles Raper Jonas has retired, the battle for succes-

sion is between Democrat James Beatty and Republican James Martin.

Down the road a piece in **South Carolina**, Republican Senator Strom Thurmond is considered a sure bet for re-election, and conservative Congressman Floyd D. Spence (2nd CD) is without Democratic opposition. A potential new Republican seat has materialized in the 6th CD (Florence), as a result of Representative John McMillan's primary loss at the hands of probusing liberal John Jenrette. Republicans are running effective conservative campaigner Edward L. Young, well-known in the district after having conducted a weekly television program there for several years. If McMillan's backers cross over, this could be a Republican pickup.

Georgia's Senate race ranks high in Republican plans for control of the upper chamber. Representative Fletcher Thompson, a conservative from Atlanta, is competing with Sam Nunn, a Democrat who denies he is a liberal but is perceived that way by national commentators. The race is considered a toss-up. Republicans are slightly less sanguine in **Alabama**, where former Postmaster General Winton (Red) Blount is carrying the banner against veteran Democratic Senator John J. Sparkman. The latter is helped by the fact of his long incumbency, a reputed truce with Governor Wallace and considerable backing from the business community. The race could be decided by the trend prevailing among Wallace Democrats. No change is anticipated in the House alignment, which features three conservative Republicans.

For the first time in modern history, it looks as if the Republican presidential candidate will carry **Arkansas**—but otherwise tradition will survive. Conservative Democratic Senator John McClellan and liberal Democratic Governor Dale Bumpers are both considered safe, and there is no Republican opposition in the three districts controlled by Democrats. Arkansas' only GOP Representative, John Paul Hammer-schmidt, will also be back. Similar conditions obtain in **Mississippi**, since Democratic Senator James O. Eastland enjoys the rather open blessing of the Nixon regime in his one-sided race with Republican Gil Carmichael. The détente has little effect on Eastland's role as prohibitive favorite, but could blight Republican hopes of carrying the 5th CD for young conservative Trent Lott, administrative assistant to retiring Rep-

representative William Colmer. Lott has been considered a likely winner, but assurance that Nixon is for Eastland has freed Democratic resources for the battle to save the district.

A quadrangular Senate race in **Louisiana** could tip the balance against Democratic candidate J. Bennett Johnston, nominated to succeed the late Allen Ellender. The Republican candidate is Ben Toledano, who ran for mayor of New Orleans two years ago. In addition, former Governor John McKeithen is running an independent campaign and Wallaceite Hall Lyons is the candidate of the American Party. Ultimate winner is anybody's guess. Meanwhile, Republicans have an excellent chance of electing their first major officeholder of modern times in the newly created 3rd CD (New Orleans suburbs). The GOP candidate is David Treen, a solid conservative who has run in several past elections and came within a whisker of defeating Hale Boggs four years ago. Treen is thought to have good prospects of victory over Democrat Louis Watkins, and if he wins can be counted as a coming conservative leader.

Republicans can claim some high-ranking incumbents in the outer South, and are striving to keep it that way. **Texas** features a vivid ideological clash between Republican conservative John Tower, first elected in 1961, and former U.S. Attorney Barefoot Sanders, a Kennedy Democrat. Tower has assertedly been damaged by the liaison between Nixon and former Texas Governor John Connally, who captains "Democrats for Nixon" and is also a supporter of Sanders. This one could be extremely close—as could the battle of incumbent congressmen in the Panhandle, where Democrat Graham Purcell tangles with topflight conservative Republican Bob Price.

Where federal offices are concerned, **Tennessee** has been Republican territory in recent years. Nixon is expected to carry it comfortably, and if so the state's senior senator, Republican Howard Baker, should be returned to office. The GOP is also battling to retain the congressional seats of conservative LaMar Baker (Chattanooga) and Dan Kuykendall (Memphis), and has hopes of adding to its total by electing Robin Beard in the 6th (Memphis suburbs)—although the latter objective is admittedly a long shot. Incumbents from historically Republican east Ten-

nessee—James Quillen and John Duncan—are assured of re-election.

Kentucky's Senate race could produce a Republican retention with a considerable change in ideology. At stake is the seat of John Sherman Cooper, a veteran liberal Republican who is retiring. The candidates to succeed him are liberal Democrat Walter Huddleston, and former Republican Governor Louie B. Nunn. If Nunn should be the victor, the seat will shift from the liberal to the conservative side on numerous key issues in Washington. Republicans have chances at new House seats in Louisville's 3rd CD (Phil Kaelin) and Lexington's 6th (Laban Jackson). Standout conservative Gene Snyder will be back next January to start his fifth term in the Congress.

Florida is at once the most deprived and most richly blessed of Southern states in 1972. It is the only state in Dixie without a race for major office, but thanks to population growth it also gains three House seats. Each of these offers, in some degree, the prospect of conservative advance. In the new 3rd CD, which stretches from Orlando to St. Petersburg, hard-driving conservative Jack P. Insko is said to be the likely victor. In the elongated 10th CD, which runs from coast to coast, former State Senator Skip Bafalis, also a conservative, is rated ahead. In the 7th CD (Tampa), GOPer Robert Carter is opposing Representative Sam Gibbons in a replay of their 1970 battle. Down in the 13th CD (Northern Miami), knowledgeable anti-Communist Paul Bethel is thought to have an outside chance, although the area on the partisan arithmetic is heavily Democratic. Florida's three conservative GOP incumbents—Bill Young, Louis Frey and Herbert Burke—will all be back, along with a number of conservative Democrats.

The West

Second only to Dixie in Republican hopes for Senate dominance in '73 are the states of the Rocky Mountain West. On present readings none of the GOP's incumbencies in the area seems in danger, while the party has notions of transferring two of the seats now held by Democrats to the other side of the aisle. It is anticipated that partisan changes throughout the West will otherwise be minimal, although this sprawling region does offer a number of

bright new prospects for conservative leadership in the House of Representatives.

The GOP is especially interested in **Montana**, as cattle rancher Henry Hibbard, a conservative, goes after arch-liberal incumbent Lee Metcalf. Republican Hibbard is given a shot at the victory, but Metcalf has been in for two terms and Montana has a history of supporting state Democrats for federal office (the other senator, for those who may have forgotten, is Mike Mansfield). The governor's race, where Republicans have generally bettered their federal performance, pits liberal Democrat Thomas Judge against State Senator Ed Smith. The latter is an outspoken economizer, having opposed a sales tax that voters turned down in a referendum. This race, like those of New Englanders Thomson and Hackett and Iowa's Ray, will test the political potency of the tax rebellion.

Across the border in **Idaho**, conservatives have a lot to cheer about. Though Republican Senator Len Jordan is retiring, the party's candidate to succeed him, Representative James McClure, is an equally stalwart conservative. The Republican nominee for McClure's position in the House is a youthful and imaginative conservative campaigner named Steve Symms. At this writing, both McClure and Symms are favored. The story is much the same in **Wyoming**, where Republican Senator Clifford Hansen seems assured of re-election. If Hansen wins decisively and Nixon gathers his expected harvest of votes, the GOP could replace Democratic Representative Teno Roncalio, a McGovern liberal, with energetic conservative Bill Kidd.

Colorado's Gordon Allott, possible majority leader if Republicans do prevail in the Senate, is leading comfortably in his re-election bid against Democrat Floyd Haskell. Denver Congressman Mike McKeivitt is being challenged by Democrat Patricia Schroeder, but is favored to improve his winning margin of 1970. Republicans sense a possible turnover in the 4th CD (Ft. Collins), where veteran Wayne Aspinall was defeated in the Democratic primary and James T. Johnson is carrying the banner for the GOP. In the newly created 5th (Denver suburbs), Republican William Armstrong is favored over liberal former congressman Byron Johnson. Armstrong, at 35, has racked

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Will the Dominoes Stand?

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

BANGKOK. "The countries of Southeast Asia need a collective-security system, whether they like it or not," retiring SEATO Secretary General Jesus Vargas told me in his spacious headquarters overlooking traffic-clogged Sriyuthaya Road in Bangkok. "As I said when your President Nixon visited Peking: the Chinese Communists are not going to stop their nuclear build-up and they are not going to stop their assistance to the Communist guerrillas in Southeast Asia. Because of this there is no alternative to SEATO."

Vargas is pleased with the continuing viability of SEATO, especially its advisory and technical assistance in developing effective counterinsurgency programs, even for countries like Indonesia and Malaysia, which are not members of SEATO but have informal liaison with it. He points to SEATO's technical training schools in Bangkok and Dacca, and to SEATO-sponsored medical research and community-development assistance.

But SEATO's critics remain unconvinced. They say technical and community-development assistance require mechanisms untainted by the cold war animosities of the Dulles era. As for SEATO's military and counterinsurgency roles—these the critics also disparage, particularly, it is said, in light of the Nixon policy of "multiple parity," in which the practical interests of a few major power blocs (the U.S., USSR, Red China, Japan and the European community) preclude further anti-Communist alliance systems. Mr. Gough Whitlam, who, if the Labor Party wins the elections later this year, will become Australia's prime minister, late in June termed SEATO "moribund," even as SEATO ministers were

about to convene in Canberra. The assumptions on which SEATO was based "have altered out of all recognition," Whitlam said. The *Asian*, Hong Kong's regional newspaper, was even more candid: SEATO is not yet dead, its Manila correspondent wrote, but "it is toothless, senile, moribund" and totally useless.

Certainly the Nixon policies in Asia have fed such sentiments. The President's trip to Peking; his abandonment of the Sato government in Japan and encouragement of Premier Kakuei Tanaka's policy of rapprochement with Moscow and Peking; his support for the North and South Korean peace and unification overtures; his readiness to abandon or modify existing U.S. military rights in the Philippines in deference to leftist and militant nationalist Philippine sentiment—all these do seem incompatible, directly or by implication, with SEATO's assumptions.

The Nixon strategy seeks to depressurize and de-emphasize Southeast Asia and concentrate instead on the power plays expected from Japan, Red China and the USSR. Southeast Asia? Well, what is intended here, as one gathers by talking to U.S. officials in the region, can perhaps best be described as "internationalized fuzziness." "Internationalized," in the sense that the region must, according to this policy, be freed from its post-World War II hostilities and conflicts between Communists and anti-Communists, and must open itself to diplomatic and commercial ties with all the major (and many minor) powers, so that, in effect, the entire international community acquires a stake in the area's stability. Then no single outside power can aspire to dominate it or, conversely, can be compelled to carry the burden of its future security and development alone. Thus the U.S. quietly encourages Soviet diplomatic interest in Malaysia and the impending Thai-Soviet trade pact.

"Fuzziness," in the sense that domestic political alignments and constitutional developments in the Southeast

Asian countries are likely to remain unclear and unstable. "We accept the possible inevitability of a clutch of banana republics here," one bright young Nixon appointee told me in Singapore, "but their problems are not going to drag us into war again." By "us" he did not mean his fellow Americans—he was talking of the new multiple-parity power elite of the U.S., the USSR, Red China and Japan. A relatively high level of internal instability in Southeast Asia, as military or quasi-military regimes battle students in the streets and guerrillas in the hills, will be acceptable. The new "benign neglect" planned for Southeast Asia does not, however, mean abandonment of soothing gestures: a modest new aid effort here, a "show the flag" visit there, even a Security Council initiative if things really get out of hand—but that will be the extent of it.

Implicit in the Nixon gambit is, of course, the assumption that the other multiple-parity partners will see things the same way. The internationalization of Southeast Asia depends on no power's seeking undue advantage and upsetting the collective equilibrium act. This is why the Nixon strategists remain sanguine about the outcome of the Vietnam war. Yet, even if Hanoi comes to its senses, will the Nixon gambit work? I don't know, but I'm putting my money on SEATO, for three reasons.

THE FIRST reason is perhaps best illustrated by two recent press reports. The first is a statement in the *Bangkok World* by the governor of Thailand's Petchaburi province on some aspects of the continuing Communist guerrilla insurgency in his area. After noting that the insurgents' recruits were being sent by Thai underground cadres to Hua Binh, in North Vietnam, for training before returning to Thailand for guerrilla operations, Governor Anek went on to comment that students in the Chinese schools in his province were spying for the guerrillas, and that Thai-born Chinese, equipped with modern weapons, were assisting the guerrillas in ambushing Thai government patrols.

The second report, in the *Manila Bulletin*, details the seizure by Philippine troops of a foreign vessel which was observed to discharge men and supplies for the Maoist "New People's

Mr. van der Kroef is chairman of the Political Science Department at the University of Bridgeport. He was born in Jakarta, is a student of Southeast Asia and spends most summers in the Orient.

These two incidents underscore the problems which Peking continues to present to its Asian neighbors. Through the communities of Chinese in Southeast Asia, and more directly with arms, agents, and unremitting propaganda, Peking has for many years assisted Communist guerrillas. This assistance has not noticeably slackened; on the contrary, whether one turns to Burma, where Chinese troops are helping secessionist Burmese tribes and Maoist guerrillas, or to Thailand, where Chinese arms and North Vietnam-trained cadres amplify the power of the Peking-based exiled Communist leaders, or to the Philippines and its "New People's Army," or to Borneo, where along the Sarawak-Indonesia border native Chinese Maoist rebels are active, the pattern of subversion inspired and abetted

A SECOND reason for SEATO's necessity lies in the inability of the Southeast Asian nations to devise another collective-security concept that can meet subversion and external aggression. Furthermore, internationalization could mean plunder in a "neo-colonialist" style as major powers, vying for the region's oil, tin, rubber and lumber, or for control of its strategic waterways, exert competitive pressures which Southeast Asia's fragile political structures will be unable to withstand. The neo-colonialist specter is not illusory. There is already bitter resentment over Japan's aggressive investment and commercial drive in the region, and among the most vocal critics of American

This does not suggest that a "neutral" Southeast Asia is likely to emerge soon. Ironically, perhaps, the main Southeast Asian nations themselves realize this and, somewhat embarrassedly, maintain bi- or even multi-lateral military alliances. Thus Malaysia and Singapore are linked with Australia, New Zealand and Britain in a military defense arrangement which, despite protestations of the desirability of neutrality and verbal jousting as to its true significance, continues in force. And while sneering at SEATO and at the entire concept of Australia's need for a "forward defense" is fashionable in the Australian Labor Party, judging by recent pronouncements of Mr. Lance Barnard, the shadow defense minister, a Labor government in Australia would not be quick to withdraw its forces from Singapore and Malaysia.

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Trump like an Elephant, Sting like a Wasp

VICTOR GOLD

Sources at the Democratic National Committee incline toward melancholy when the subject of Monday is brought up . . .

—Richard Starnes

*Almost any time you spend with Democrats these days the line eventually comes up: "Did you see what Monday said about. . . . That **** Lofton. It's too bad we don't have somebody like that on our side."*

—Richard Reeves

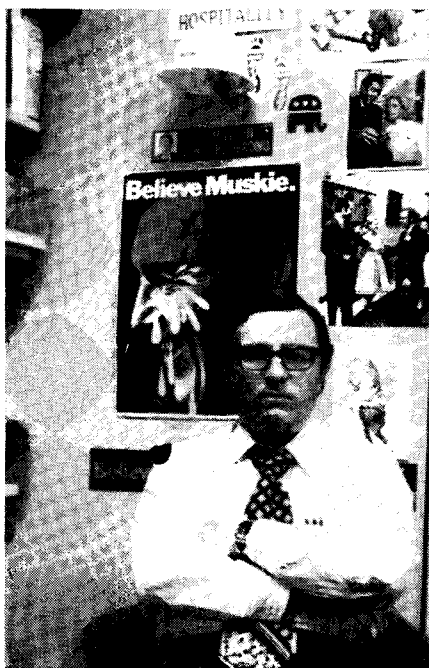
BUT, OF COURSE, as any over-sixty Democratic Party pro will recall at the drop of a skimmer, they did have "somebody like that" at one time. In fact, according to an Old Political wives' tale, the somebody who delivered the solar plexus blow unhinging Herbert Hoover's presidential image wasn't really Franklin D. Roosevelt or even Jim Farley. It was a Democratic National Committee left-hooker named Charley Michelson.

Remember Charley Michelson? Doubtless Gary Hart and his asphalt populist *Wunderkinder* would have a difficult time placing the name (what precinct did he ever radicalize?). But in the autumn of '32 and for several years thereafter, it was Michelson's wit and typewriter that propagated the myth—since Schlesingerized into a *Judgment of History*—that Herbert Hoover, acting as a tool of Wall Street, had plunged America into the Great Depression.

Thus, as ringside Washingtonians who dote on the lore of past political stratagems tell it, Charley Michelson was the clever in-fighter who popularized the term "Hooverville" to melodramatize Okie villages then dotting the Southern and Western landscape; who converted "A chicken in every pot" and "Prosperity is just around the corner" into devastating guerrilla slogans of their day; and who, during the early years of the FDR Administration, sustained a riddling staccato of partisan propaganda which even

now can evoke a mood of melancholy and a cascade of **** whenever over-sixty Republican warhorses come together to reflect on past battles.

It is interesting to speculate, however—in the manner of historical juxtaposition that finds winter evening promoters in neighborhood taverns matching Louis v. Ali and Marciano v. Frazier—what degree of success Michelson might have achieved in his demolition of a President had the Republican National Committee's John D. Lofton Jr. been born forty years sooner. For in the closed ring of Washington agitprop, where Republicans generally and conservatives particularly often suffer critical review as flat-footed clubfighters, *Monday's* editor has in 26 months left



a string of bruised Democratic images and egos, ranging from overrated Democratic presidential challengers to some hitherto untouchable members of the liberal stable's media tag team.

What makes this string especially impressive is that it was run up in a market where partisan newsletters are grist

for the wastebasket industry and the Republican Party's official message has generally attracted about as much interest as another Floyd Patterson-George Chuvalo rematch. Nevertheless, while the eight-page *RNC Monday* and its once-a-month brother publication *First Monday* are ostensibly aimed at informing the party faithful, their greatest impact is to be measured by the amount of attention Lofton's efforts receive among neutral non-party and even hostile readers on his subscriber lists.

A 31-year-old Floridian who came to the RNC after fighting preliminaries at the *Vermont Sunday News* and the *Coral Gables Times*, Lofton has thus succeeded in cracking the carapace of liberal indifference to the GOP message by bringing to his weekly editorial product a nice blend of graphic brightness and editorial sting, backed by solid primary reporting and research. As a result, *Monday* has emerged as not simply a newsletter but a newsmaker, quoted and cited by general media throughout the country.

Headline Item, *Birmingham News*: GOP PUBLICATION HITS MEDIA ON MCGOVERN WAR RECORD; Headline Item, *Washington Star*: GOP RAPS DEMOCRATS FOR PEACE TREATY AD; Headline Item, *Variety*: MONDAY, GOP SHEET, RAPS CBS NEWS FOR "NEGATIVE ACCENT" ON WAR.

YET, what makes the possibilities of a Lofton-Michelson match intriguing is not so much the Republican contender's penchant for right-hand leads as his counterpunching prowess. Examining Lofton's work, a *Monday* reader can soon discern that he is at his best when puncturing rather than creating myths.

He is, in fact—living and working at the fount of modern American political mythology, Delphic Washington where the liberal gods roam—the perfect spoiler for the Primo Carneras of thought and flesh that the mythmakers of the Left give issue to at regular intervals: a counterpropagandist, a man with a quick bootjack for slow-arising truth.

Take, for example, the Myth of the Second Lincoln, Maine's erstwhile heavyweight contender. More recently, of course, blinking into his locker-room

Mr. Gold is the press secretary to Vice President Agnew.

lights, Senator Muskie has forwarded to the boxing commission, and anyone who will listen, a long list of complaints, e.g., incompetent seconds, crooked judges, dirty water buckets, bad ice packs, etc., to explain away his failure to come out for the final bell. But if interested observers were to look to the beginning of the end of the Muskie dream of taking the title, they would find that a certain softening-up process began with *Monday's* nettling weekly jabs, aimed at pointing up that which the mythmakers had hoped to hide under the stovepipe. The Muskie temper, for instance.

IS MUSKIE COOL ENOUGH TO BE PRESIDENT? asked a Lofton headline nearly a year before the Senator's self-administered TKO on the flatbed truck at Manchester. The accompanying artwork and story reflected Lofton's skills at their sharpest: 1) a caricature of the Senator pounding a table amid steam and fire; 2) a deftly selected quotation from the Talmud (*"As a man gets angry, he falls*

into error"); 3) a direct, hard-hitting lead (*"While most of the media has portrayed Sen. Edmund Muskie as calm, cool and collected, those who have closely observed the Maine Democrat say that he is really a man with a very short fuse, ready to explode at a moment's notice"*); followed by 4) a carefully researched argument featuring not the opinions of Lofton or fellow Republicans but specific examples of the Muskie temper in action as reported by neutral observers.

As the Myth of Maine went, so goes the Myth of South Dakota. Dealing with Senator McGovern, however, Lofton's favorite weapon has simply been to juxtapose in tandem the Democratic presidential candidate's own words and phrases. (GEORGE MCGOVERN MEET GEORGE MCGOVERN, with reverse profiles and diverse statements by the Senator on a single issue, is one of *Monday's* regular features.) Or, in a graph under the heading, "Political Potpourri," to take advantage of the opposition candi-

date's own flatfootedness with flickering verbal jabs (*"Have you ever wondered what President McGovern would do on his 91st day in office after solving all the problems?"*).

Not content to take on only the myth-made Muskie, McGovern and of course the Grandbaby of all contemporary Liberal Myth, Ted Kennedy, Lofton has by inclination as much as necessity seen fit to climb into the ring with the mythmakers themselves, challenging network executives, columnists and Democratic propagandists who come up factually sloppy.

His approach in these cases is nothing if not direct: Lofton just picks up a telephone and calls again and again—to the extent that if *Monday's* agile parent suffers the disfigurement of a cauliflower ear it will no doubt result from phones slammed down in the middle of conversations with the likes of Harriet Van Horne, Carl Rowan and, the Liberal Mythmaker of Mythmakers,

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The Cremation of George McG

(With apologies to Robert W. Service)

Now George McG is the apogee of liberal hopes and dreams
He went like a breeze through the primaries and foiled the
Old Guard's schemes.

Knocked Humphrey down, spun Muskie around and left
Jackson and Chisholm to preach;
With a couple of shoves from his horde of doves, he was
crowned in Miami Beach.

He said "So come home!" Don't try to play Rome, for it's
a dangerous lure

He also had planned to cough up a grand for the families
of the poor.

(Abolish the draft? That plank in his raft somehow just
sank away)

And in its place, with a very stern face, he stated the rich
must pay.

Then he found too late that his running-mate had omitted
an item or two

So George McG, reluctantly, went along when he withdrew;
But dug up a man of the Kennedy clan (or at least a
brother-in-law).

With this bumper sticker, no human was quicker, than
George McG on the draw.

The minorities were George McG's and maybe the blue-
collar vote.

And who's John Wayne against MacLaine and all of the
libs of note?

His coalition and our condition made Georgie a real sure
thing

And who could resist this new populist and all of the
changes he'd bring?

But suddenly, to George McG, in came the earliest polls
And the strategy of George McG was instantly rent with
holes.

He was taken aback that every black was *not* going to vote
for him

And the working class, almost in mass, considered his
concepts grim.

And even the kids, with joints and lids, and those in
between and square

Had carefully read all the things he had said, but seemed
to be off elsewhere

Minority groups weren't jumping through hoops, but going
every whichaway.

And surely enough, Dick Daley won't stuff a *thing* on
election day.

Now we all know there's a ways to go, between now and
the voting date

And Nixon sure is not the cure for all the things that
grate . . .

But I'm telling you that seventy-two will go down in
history

As the year the proles who went to the polls cremated
George McG.

—JACK KIRWIN

The Election as Non-Event

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

THE MOST conspicuous fact about British coverage of, and comment on, this presidential campaign is that there has been, comparatively, so little. Since the end of the Eagleton affair, the election has scarcely been mentioned on television, and in the newspapers it has rated no more than an occasional few paragraphs on an inside page.

Such scanty attention is in sharp contrast to the increasingly elaborate coverage which was given to at least the three previous presidential elections. The electoral system was painstakingly explained, and there was a great deal of editorializing, by reporters as well as commentators, most of which followed the American liberal line almost exactly.

It looked, at the time of the Democratic Party Convention, as though this year's election were going to be given the same treatment. Senator McGovern's nomination was greeted with much enthusiasm ("We, who count ourselves friends of America, have waited a long time for this," wrote one correspondent), and the vociferous colony of American liberals living in London began a well-publicized fund-raising campaign for McGovern. What's happened to that campaign? I can't tell you; nothing has been heard of it for months. And the enthusiasm of the British press has simply drained away. McGovern's tergiversations and Nixon's confidence have been reported perfunctorily and virtually without comment.

One reason is that Britain, at the moment, has so many urgent problems of her own that anything not directly concerned with them inevitably fades into the background. The Israeli diplomat killed by an Arab letter-bomb in London, the Asian refugees arriving destitute and shivering from Uganda, industrial and economic troubles moving relentlessly toward crisis point—all these are more interesting to British readers than an American election of which the outcome appears to be a foregone conclusion.

After the totally unpredicted result of the election which made Edward Heath Prime Minister, Britain has good cause to be skeptical about opinion polls, but few believe that a lead as big as Nixon's is likely to be overtaken.

There may be another reason, too, for the detachment being shown by reporters and commentators. Their political affiliations haven't changed. They are still reflecting American liberal sentiment—which means that they are now reflecting disillusionment with McGovern.

Henry Fairlie, writing in the *Spectator*, suggests that, for years, the fashionable reporters and pundits—those of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, NBC and CBS, and foreign correspondents who are supposed to be expert in American affairs—have been misleading themselves. They have depicted a country on the edge of rebellion, or, alternatively, in danger of a terrible white "backlash." They offered Senator McGovern as the champion who could rescue America from these perils, which they had themselves invented. They talked, only a few weeks ago, about the "new populism" which, with a bit of luck, might sweep him into the White House. And now, refusing to admit that they misinterpreted the situation, they are blaming him for throwing away the victory.

Keith Kyle, another English journalist, whose own views are moderate-left, wrote that Mr. Fairlie had got it slightly wrong. The comic aspect of the way the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* had behaved was not their belief in a new populism, but their lack of faith in it; so that they, the normal preachers of the pure and the principled in politics, were begging Senator McGovern to become more Machiavellian, in the hope of enlisting enough support from the center to defeat their pet hate, President Nixon.

The consensus of the British press now is to shrug and say "Nixon hasn't turned out too badly"—meaning that he hasn't turned out to be particularly

right-wing. His China policy has been universally applauded, and his abandonment of free-market theories, in favor of wage and price controls, is considered by some to be a model of what Britain should do. It is, we are told, this prudent conversion to center-left policies which has given him so good a chance of being re-elected. That conservatives may not be happy about them is never mentioned.

In Britain, as in America, the Vietnam war has lost much of its steam as an issue. Although the left-wing press is angry about the bombing, the sincerity of President Nixon's attempt to escape from the war without too much dishonor is generally accepted. The antics of Miss Jane Fonda are reported with some astonishment. Edward Kennedy, after his remarks about Northern Ireland, is not regarded as a serious, or at least not as an honest, political figure.

WHEN THE electoral smoke has cleared, the issue of greatest joint importance to Britain and America will be the relationship of the two countries to each other. With Britain about to enter Europe (a prospect which still fails to enchant a majority of the British people), and a current of isolationism visible in the United States, any political change that threatened to weaken, rather than strengthen, the alliance would be dangerous and deplorable. From this point of view as well, Nixon seems not too bad, whereas Senator McGovern's reckless talk about troop withdrawals and defense cuts sounds very worrying indeed.

It wouldn't have worried the left-wing commentators, of course, but they have simply lost interest in him. If he had enjoyed better luck and his halo hadn't slipped quite so fast and so blatantly, if he looked even a possible winner, he would have received tremendous support from commentators in the British press and on television and from British intellectuals. They wanted to believe in him. Instead of which, it is now quite rare to meet anybody who doesn't think that, *faute de mieux*, it would be just as well if Richard Nixon won. □

Mr. Lejeune also reported for NR on the British press reactions to the 1964 and 1968 elections.

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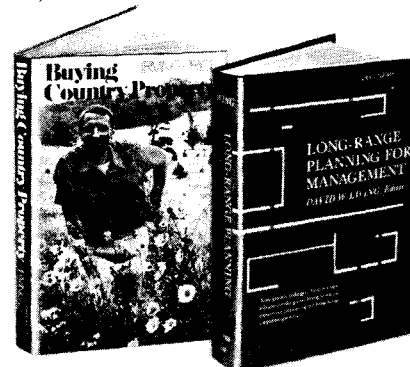
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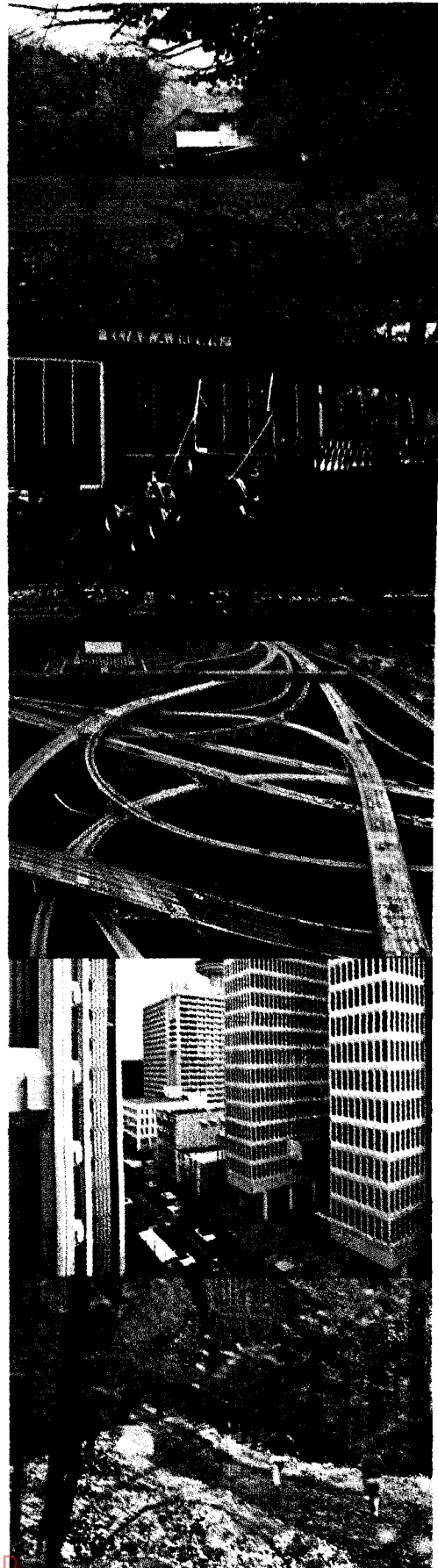
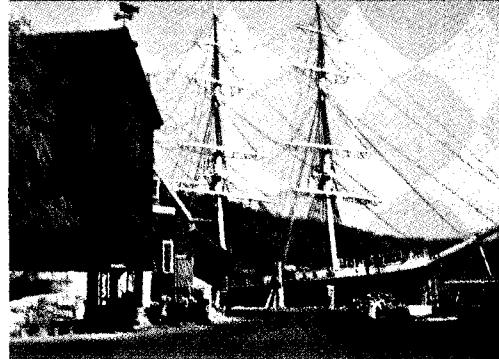
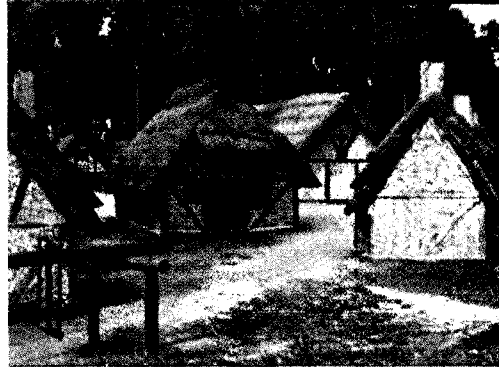
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17



How to Crusade for Peace

PAUL GOTTFRIED

Metternich
By Alan Palmer

Harper, 405 pp., \$12.50

Perhaps the word equivocal might best describe the character of Klement von Metternich (1773-1859). To his liberal and nationalist opponents he seemed crudely opportunistic, and a certain case can be made that he was. As Austrian foreign minister, he kept his country out of the final coalition against Napoleon until the other major powers had already joined. Later at the Congress of Vienna, he brought together the rulers of Prussia, Austria and Russia, by means of an agreement for dividing up the lands of subject nationalities. Of course, for those who deplored his career, there was poetic justice in the way it ended. In 1848 this enemy of liberal nationalism was driven from Vienna when the city's residents turned to insurrection. Although he returned two years later, he died emotionally shattered in 1859, several days after the Italian nationalists had triumphed over Austrian armies in Lombardy.

Despite his angering of intellectuals in his own century, Metternich staged an historiographical comeback in the scholarship of the 1920s. For Heinrich von Srbik, the author of a two-volume biography on him (1925), he appeared a conservative internationalist who had anticipated the unleashing of national rivalries so destructive for the modern age. The end of the Second World War witnessed, in some cases, a sharpening of this revisionist portrait. Harold Nicolson and Henry Kissinger, in popular books, discussed the accomplishments of the peacemakers at Vienna with obvious sympathy. More recently, Metternich has also gained stature as an Austrian nationalist. Modern historians, in particular Enno von Kraehe and Paul Schroeder, have emphasized his continuing concern with Austrian interests in his dealings with other states.

Will this biography create a new trend in scholarly appraisals of Metternich? It is safe to assume that it probably will not. It undertakes no major reinterpretation of Metternich's work, nor does it present any documents hitherto unpublished. What it does offer, however, is a gracefully composed narrative accompanied by a set of useful references.

Palmer's writing is descriptively rich,

evoking scenes and events in a way that reveals a flair for relevant detail. Especially noteworthy is his picture of Metternich after the French rout from Russia, calmly negotiating on the one side with Napoleon, to whom Austria was then technically allied, and on the other with the Czar and the Prussian King, into whose coalition he eventually steered his country. Attention is also given to his diplomatic finesse at Vienna, especially to his efforts to undermine Prussian and Russian expansionist designs while at the same time winning general approval for the settlement as a whole. The minister is then viewed in less happy situations: losing

his hold on European affairs, slipping into operational rigidity, and fleeing his palace under cover of dark for an unknown place of exile. Finally he is seen as an aged and sententious teacher, lecturing to Disraeli and Bismarck on his political axioms and, after his return to Vienna, to the young Francis Joseph on the merits of social stability.

DESPITE THE abundance of Palmer's literary talents, there are interpretive flaws in his book. In the preface and early chapters, Metternich is regarded as clever, but rarely wise, and pompous, although never profound, in his social comments. The frequent references in his writings to Aristotle and other philosophers is dismissed as "a code of respectable obscurity in which he might envelop what was basically a day to day and hand to mouth policy." We are also informed that without the ideas of Friedrich von Gentz, the anti-Napoleonic polemicist, "Metternich would have made scarcely more impact on Europe than his ridiculous father."

Such hyperbole clashes with views of the minister he offers elsewhere in his study. And would statesmen as shrewd as Talleyrand or as enterprising as Disraeli have felt the respect they did for



Metternich, had he been only a frivolous mediocrity? Perhaps closer to the mark is the opinion that his political thinking lacked originality. Von Srbik, too, spoke of it as derivative rather than innovative, but by the same token stressed the breadth of his eclecticism. The classical concern for balancing social interests, the Burkean defense of prescriptive liberty, and the Kantian idea of a universal republic held together by shared ethical values, all contributed to the formation of his political outlook.

Kissinger was also aware of the moral aspect of Metternich's politics, when he perceived the overriding importance for him of the notion of legitimacy. In *A World Restored*, Kissinger grasped far better than Palmer both the depth of his involvement with this principle and its enduring significance beyond the dynastic problems of his time. What Metternich thought to be a legitimate state was one willing to establish peaceful relations with other states and to work together with them toward international tranquility. A revolutionary government was essentially illegitimate, since it aspired to overturn the public order of its neighbors.

TO QUARANTINE it, then, was not an act of ideological madness, but an attempt to safeguard the very foundations of international relations. Like Kant, Metternich believed that universal peace could only obtain in a world of common values and truths. But to pursue peace even at the cost of losing one's civilization, struck him as an enterprise too reckless to consider. Thus, as Palmer shows, he fought all his life against iconoclasts, sometimes shrewdly but always inflexibly, while asserting his devotion to peace. □

Paul Gottfried, *Chairman of the Social Sciences at Middlesex County College, is a specialist in nineteenth-century German thought. . . . Geoffrey Wagner is professor of English at the City College of New York. . . . Hiram Caton, presently abroad at the Research School of Social Sciences of the Australian National University, is writing The Dialectic of Progress, a book on political philosophy. . . . Bernard D. Meltzer is James Parker Hall Professor of Law, University of Chicago Law School. . . . George J. Stigler, eminent economist, teaches at the University of Chicago.*

FICTION

Travels in Nihilon

By Alan Sillitoe

Scribner's, 254 pp., \$6.95

Sinning with Annie

By Paul Theroux

Houghton, 210 pp., \$5.95

The Breast

By Philip Roth

Holt, 78 pp., \$4.95

FROM SUBLIME TO SICKENING

GEOFFREY WAGNER

WE IMPORE YOU TO HALT say the signs on the barriers of Alan Sillitoe's imagined state of Nihilon. If you do so, a Customs official is as likely to bash in your windshield in order to sell you, at extortionate price, another, as to draw off a pint of your blood for bootlegging to the enemy. All documents here are forged anyway—"Crime is encouraged in order to facilitate a more equitable distribution of wealth." For this anti-nation runs its "regimented disorder" on what might be called the equality racket; as one Nihilist puts it, "Equality's my game, and I never lost by it yet." Only drunken driving is allowed (DO SMOKE signs outside gas stations), only scandal is taught in the schools ("The children and students loved it"), while women have at last had their way and are everywhere "building, digging, driving, carrying, rowing, hauling."

SILLITOE HANDLES what might be a somewhat obvious satire quite delightfully. His name reversals, like Sogra or Yort, suggest Samuel Butler and tell us that we have turned upside-down a rational civilization. Lewis Carroll, Kafka, and the Voltaire of *Candide* lurk in the background, but above all I was reminded of the late, great British comic Joe Orton. It's a pity Sillitoe had as many as five characters visiting and disrupting his lunatic utopia, but otherwise the whole book is a fun read. Thoroughly recommended.

After Sillitoe's stylish lack of pretension Paul Theroux's new stories seemed strained and heavy-breathing. Each is an encounter between some American and a culture-representing character—

Russian, Czech, Indian, Malayan. One of the most intense, the title story, describes an Indian child marriage (in "a nation of children") with considerable poetry, but there is little to differentiate these efficient anecdotes from run-of-the-mill "creative writing" assignments.

AS EVERYONE by now knows, Philip Roth's new novella is about a man who turns into a breast. It is doubtless as well known that for its appearance Roth shed his agent and parted with his previous publisher in order personally to receive all the gigantic revenues guaranteed from his paperback sales. Despite the story's coy ogling of Gogol and Kafka for antecedence, it is perfectly pointless, except as a quick way of making a large sum of bread: which it resoundingly has. For Roth paws over and besmirches the often truly genial tradition of libertine literature. The great pornographers of the past wrote out of a social sense, not simply for money. Cleland got a miserable sixty pounds for his masterpiece. Nerciat, exiled and proscribed by the Republic, got even less, and Apollinaire virtually nothing (even Burroughs possessed private



means). All knew that they would be pirated *instantly* in any case. But they wrote out of joy. As Nerciat himself put it: "See, these things were made for your delight as well as mine: Are they not beautiful in their fashion? Do they not establish a bond between us, are they not an immortal testimony and record of the greatest pleasure accessible to our senses?"

Roth has a genius for making everything potentially beautiful and joyful filthy and disgusting. It is to him, you will recall, that we are indebted for the American folk hero who masturbated on liver. *The Breast* deploys throughout a sort of thick jeer at the basket-case amputee, or freak; the main character, "just another American boy raised on a diet too rich with centerfolds," aspires to use his nipple as a phallus. Ha! Ha! One feels the nudge of the grubby elbow, hears the complacent belch and slap on thigh, and closes one's eyes and one's ears to this new member of the National Institute of our Arts and

Letters. *Screw* we have, already. Roth writes dirty books, not pornography.

But he has *made it*—it being money—and so can spit on art, as he runs laughing to the bank. I found in my files an old movie review of *The Sun Also Rises* which Roth wrote for the *New Republic* of September 30, 1957. He did it as a parody of Hemingway, picturing himself chatting in a bar with a hooker who had just also seen the movie playing opposite:

Finally I said, "It does say some things about sex."

The *poule* swayed in her chair. . . . I knew she knew.

"That sex is good?" she said.

"No," I said, "that it is with us." . . .

Someone came into the bar and from across the street I could hear silver clinking on the box office window.

Roth has heard it ever since. □

Diderot

By Arthur M. Wilson

Oxford, 917 pp., \$25

FREE-WHEELING HUMANITY

HIRAM CATON

Denis Diderot was a man of letters in the pre-revolutionary France that loved wit, dash and impudence, especially when directed against "despotism and superstition"—the code words in those days for the Bourbon monarchy and Catholicism. Ideally suited to such a clientele by his gifts and temperament, Diderot was celebrated across Europe as the editor of the *Encyclopédie*, that great megaphone for the diffusion of modern ideas. He was the Parisian center of the Enlightenment, which propagated the belief in the coming triumph of Reason.

Professor Wilson's biography is one of those books you can slice into at any point. The academic historian in him has hunted down, from Leningrad to Wisconsin, every last fading memory of Diderot. The thicket of detail is interwoven with exposition of Diderot's writing to produce a vigorous, natural, and living portrait of the whole man. This is no mean achievement. Biographers, especially biographer-historians,

usually accept the division of labor which assigns to them the task of reviving the phenomenal appearance, while critics handle the thought. Although Wilson has weighted his book toward biography, by some magic he makes the thought come alive in that context.

I suspect that the magic is the effect of his supreme skill in organizing the material, his unusual mastery of English prose, and his nimble imagination. He has written up this prodigious, beautifully printed and illustrated volume in short chapters, each a little gem with a beginning, middle and end. Professional historians may scowl at the genial informality of Wilson's sparkling prose; but the amateur is continuously delighted by such trenchant comments as Wilson's gloss on Diderot professions of undying love: "Alas! this was not only an erroneous prophecy; it was fustian. Anne-Toinette, however, married him in spite of it, perhaps because of it." Even the grammar here mirrors the ambiguity of mind and heart that teases young ladies into marriage. Innumerable comments of this kind show Wilson as one who understands what Aristotle meant when he said that for those at the highest level of historical discipline, poetry is truer than history.

Born into a bourgeois family in Langres, Diderot was propelled by ambition to seek his education and fame in Paris. When he refused to follow a regular profession, his father cut him off, forcing the young man to live from hand to mouth until his reputation was established. Gregarious, affable and copious of speech, he was knowledgeable in mathematics, music and classical languages. He wrote drama, several good novels and considerable criticism of literature, music and the plastic arts, some of which is of high quality. But in all things he was the entrepreneur and broker of ideas.

One of the central ideas in Diderot's cornucopia was a new image of man that he thought suitable for popular imitation. It is the image of the *philosophe*, a man who "thinks for himself" and whose morals reduce to *humanité*. These two things were supposed to go together. Free-thinking tends to dissolve the moral and religious beliefs that traditionally bind men together in society. Diderot's criticism does not convey the brassy and abstract utilitarianism of his predecessor Mandeville and of his contemporaries, Helve-

tius and d'Holbach. His passions soar too high, his imagination is too fertile to rest content with such simple principles. He espouses, like David Hume, an urbane corruptness, which, if it has emancipated itself from moral prejudices, is also free of fanaticism. The social purpose of the *philosophe*, and of government, is to nourish the conditions of such liberty. In the end, therefore, Diderot's social ethic comes down to the view that self-interest, pursued with due regard to the self-interest of others, is the rational basis for social cohesion.

THIS DOCTRINE cuts the ground from beneath all those prejudices of class, nationality and religion that unite men into communities only by dividing them against themselves. It teaches men to regard others only with respect to their essential attribute as a self-interested individual, as a "human being." This rationalist cosmopolitanism, or *humanité*, is the substitute for morality.

Diderot was not troubled by the thought that perhaps truly enlightened self-interest would suggest combining the appearance of practicing justice toward others with the actual practice of injustice. He assumed that self-interest would take harmless courses, if such they be, like acquiring wealth or practicing the arts and the sciences. In his circle of friends, only Rousseau revolted against this outlook, and it soured their friendship.

My brief lapse into the didactic mode does not reflect anything in Wilson's book, which avoids argument and criticism in portraying a man who was a controversialist and a critic on matters of moment. This he does by stating his views as though they were the most natural thing in the world, or, when it is a matter of evaluating some disputed question, by parading a choir of modern authorities across the page.

This uncritical attitude is the book's chief defect; but it must be admitted that Wilson's perceptions hit the mark more often than they miss. He has, for example, placed his hand on the pulse



of the *Encyclopédie* by smoking out the endless devices by which Diderot and other authors managed to undermine faith and morals while pretending all the while to be devout. Such dexterity of understanding is indispensable to historians of ideas, but it is unfortunately in short supply among them.

Despite the absence of criticism, Wilson has given us not only an outstanding biographical portrait, but one that helps to interpret a man wholly committed to modern ideas. He sums up his subject when he writes: "Diderot's is the attitude of a man who, by an understanding of the relative, hopes to approach the absolute, yet knowing all the while that the absolute cannot be reached and knowing, too, that we would not want to reach it if we could. Perhaps this defines a liberal, whatever the object of his meditations and wherever and whenever he may be found." How could that be better said? □

The Strike, For and Against
By Victor Gotbaum, Henry Hazlitt,
Will Herberg, Paul Jennings,
Theodore Kheel, Lewis Kaden,
Merwin Lewis, Eugene McCarthy,
Vincent McDonnell, Carey
McWilliams, Victor Riesel,
Robert Walsh, with introduction
by Harold H. Hart, Editor

Hart Publishing, 256 pp., \$7.50;
paperback \$2.45

DILEMMAS HAVE HORNS

BERNARD D. MELTZER

Critical strikes by public and private employees dislocate an increasingly interdependent economy and occasionally threaten the lives and livelihoods of innocent bystanders. The publisher tells us that such strikes are the catalyst for this volume. It consists of eleven relatively short articles, of uneven quality. The diverse backgrounds of the contributors are a reminder of the complex of economic, legal, ethical, historical and social considerations involved in regulating strikes—typically, the motive power for a system of collective bargaining.

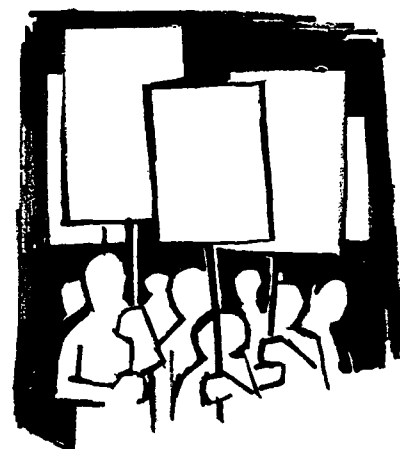
This volume does not, however, in-

tegrate the perspective of various disciplines. Each article is wholly independent of the other. There is plenty of disagreement but no debate. There is also much repetition of elementary background, marred by errors in detail and by internal contradictions. What is missing is a comprehensive unifying essay, pinpointing the sources of disagreement and the values and premises on which ultimate policy judgments turn. The specialist will find nothing new in the collection. The general reader, at whom it is presumably aimed, will be able to taste a variety of opinions about collective bargaining and strikes—in the private, and particularly in the public, sector—and get some sense of the pertinent difficulties. But he will also meet superficiality, ideological posturing, and some intellectual booby traps.

SEVERAL contributions are simplistic polemical exercises. Others are quite indifferent to evidence and to elementary distinctions. It is said, for example, that wage gains have been "eroded" (partially, wholly?) by inflation and that public compensation has lagged behind the private sector. But a recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that wage gains of selected groups of public employees outstripped inflation and gains of private employees, during 1965-1970. Ex-Senator Eugene McCarthy makes a strike the analogue of an individual businessman's decision to cut output, thereby ignoring the critical difference between individual and concerted business action under the anti-trust laws. That analogy also ignores the familiar point that a strike not only involves a concerted refusal to work, but typically is also a coordinated effort to prevent a struck firm from operating with other workers, enforced by picketing and, sometimes, by violence.

My scatter-gun criticism of the book as a whole does not apply to all the individual contributions. Kheel and Kaden's joint essay is probably the best of the lot, and, like most of the other contributions, its primary concern is with public-employee strikes. Pointing to the recent rash of such strikes, they urge that a general strike ban, which, with few exceptions, exists under federal and state law, is unenforceable because it is unacceptable to public employees and because enforcement places intolerable strains on our legal and political institutions. They point to the anomaly of subjecting an employee of a

public school or publicly owned utility to strike bans not applicable to his counterpart in the private sector. While recognizing the limitations of collective bargaining, they extol it and urge that strikes are indispensable to its functioning. They oppose compulsory arbitration because it chills bargaining and because only a mutually agreed upon settlement is likely to stick.



Conceding that strikes that would jeopardize the public health and safety, as determined by courts in injunctive actions, should be restrained, they counsel, however, against overuse of such emergency procedures. They also suggest a strategy of uncertainty with respect to impasse procedures in order to promote effective bargaining. Where, however, a strike is restrained, and impasse continues, they suggest compulsory arbitration for "the remaining issues"—a suggestion that ignores the interrelationship between all the elements of a bargain.

KHEEL and Kaden neglect or slight other important considerations. They dismiss as not proven the contention that the right to strike, added to the political power of some public employees, would give them excessive power. They urge that inflation "erodes" wage gains but omit pertinent statistics. They recognize that public-employee unionism, coupled with strikes or substantial use of compulsory arbitration, involves a serious threat to the responsibility of legislatures to decide the level of taxation and how it should be allocated among competing claimants, e.g., teachers or the urban poor, but they do not appear to give adequate weight to that fundamental difficulty, which in the end goes to the essential nature of a representative democracy.

RANDOM NOTES

■ **JUST OUT:** Louis Nizer's *The Implosion Chain* threatens to be a revisionist look at the Rosenbergs (Doubleday, \$7.95). Otherwise, would Otto Preminger be filming it? . . . Charles S. Holmes surveys the literary life of Thurber in *The Clocks of Columbus* (Atheneum, \$10; illustrated). . . . Han Su-yin delivers a monster life of Mao through 1954, *The Morning Deluge* (Little, Brown, \$15). . . . "Adam (Money Game) Smith's" new one is *Supermoney* (Random House, \$6.95). From the same publisher, David Halberstam reviews the Kennedy era in *The Best and the Brightest* (\$10).

■ **BRITISH FILMS.** Sidney Lumet is directing Sean Connery in *Something like the Truth*. . . . Producer Harry Alan Towers reaches for the remakes, signs Orson Welles and Walter Slezak for *Treasure Island*, Charlton Heston for *Call of the Wild*. . . . Michael Caine and Catherine Deneuve to star in *Lizzie-Anne*, with Tony Richardson in the director's chair.

■ **NOVEMBER GIFT BOOKS.** Thomas S. Buechner has two entries in this fall's Norman Rockwell sweepstakes, both from Abrams: *A Sixty Year Retrospective* (\$15) and *A Suite of 15 Color Prints of His Saturday Evening Post Covers* (\$55 to Jan. 1, then \$75). From the same pub-

lisher, *American Art of the Twentieth Century*, an illustrated critical history by Sam Hunter (\$15). . . . New edition of Frank Lloyd Wright's *Autobiography* is revised and illustrated (Horizon, \$17.50). . . . *Yankee Stadium: 50 Years of Drama*, an affectionate review by *Times* sports-writer Joseph Durso, features a bundle of pictures (Houghton; \$12.50 to Jan. 1, then \$15).

■ **DECEMBER BOOKS.** Radical James Aronson sets a *Deadline for the Media* (Bobbs-Merrill, \$8.95). . . . *The Semblance of Peace* is a massive analysis of World War II treaties by John Wheeler-Bennett (St. Martin's, \$30). From the same house, four more of *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes*: Vol. 9—*Essays in Persuasion*, Vol. 10—*Essays in Biography*, Vol. 12—*The General Theory*, Vol. 13—*Economic Articles and Correspondence* (\$9.50 each). . . . Gore Vidal's *Collected Essays* includes his pieces on Buckley, Mailer and Sontag (Random House, \$8.95). . . . *Political Justice in a Republic* is a study of James Fenimore Cooper by John P. McWilliams Jr. (California, \$10). . . . *Richelieu* by Louis Auchincloss is generously illustrated (Viking, \$14.95).

■ **CONTRARY** to the item in Random Notes (Sept. 29) *Political Violence and Civil Disobedience* by Ernest van den Haag consists of previously unpublished work except for one essay, which appeared in part in NATIONAL REVIEW.

The notorious difficulty of distinguishing between essential and unessential public services is not tackled by Kheel and Kaden. Indeed, Jennings' contribution pointed to that difficulty as supporting his position (and Gotbaum's) that public-employee strikes should be free from any legal restraint. Such distinctions are, moreover, unlikely to commend themselves to police and fire fighters, denied strike rights granted to others. They also ignore the suggestions of some observers that collective bargaining in the public sector has not necessarily been chilled when a strike threat is absent.

Nevertheless, Kheel and Kaden's faith in the strike as a catalyst of agreement is, I believe, well-founded. But in proposing its qualified legalization in the public sector, they play down the concern, expressed by many, including George Meany, about the social and individual costs of major strikes in the private sector. They also slight the significant differences between the two sectors, in the forces affecting compensa-

tion, accountability of and discipline on bargainers, and employer countermeasures to strikes.

To harp on the inevitability of public strikes is to help fashion self-fulfilling prophecies. And not even Kheel and Kaden's pragmatism can avoid the intractable question: What next, if compulsory arbitration is followed by a strike in a vital activity, as it was in the Montreal police strike? In the end, the problem of public-employee strikes thus involves the basic obligations of an employee-citizen who accepts public employment with full knowledge of the pertinent constraints but who has the needs and desires of all employees. To urge that strikes in the public sector are inevitable, without considering whether they are defensible on moral or political grounds, is to toot only one horn of a dilemma and to risk an increase of conflict without any explicit concern for the kind of society that is likely to emerge.

Whatever one's views about our legislatures or the discipline imposed by a

market system on public employers, there are ample reasons to doubt that the legalization of public-employee strikes will bring more order, "equity" or peace into public business. As we examine the results of the different approaches evolving under federal and state law, we may get more light on the basic questions raised by this volume. □

The Theory of Public Choice

Edited by James M. Buchanan and Robert D. Tollison

University of Michigan, 330 pp., \$15

PROOF OF THE PUDDING?

GEORGE J. STIGLER

One of the most interesting developments in economics in the past fifteen years has been the application of economic theory to political processes. The hypothesis that men know their goals and use resources efficiently to fulfill these goals appears to be as fruitful on Pennsylvania Avenue as on Wall Street. Certainly the peculiar mixture of religious faith and cynical contempt with which most writers explain political phenomena is not so successful a "theory" as to discourage exploration of the hypothesis of rational behavior.

The economist leaders of this extension of economics include Anthony Downs, Gordon Tullock and James Buchanan—the last named being the senior editor of this book of readings—but political scientists (particularly the Rochester school under William Riker) and sociologists (James Coleman) have also become important contributors. The essays in the present volume are an instructive sample of the work done by the Tullock-Buchanan school, once located at the University of Virginia and now at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

The opening substantive essay illustrates both the nature of the work and its present limitations. Buchanan asks why the British National Health Service apparently reduced the rate of provision of medical services in England relative to what the free market would have provided. If the services became "free," why did not the unrestrained demands of the population lead to a vast expansion of the Health Service?

Buchanan's answer is that in the allocation of public resources, each voter-citizen will choose "a quantity of gross investment in health services much lower than that which would be required by a policy of providing constant-quality service to the extent indicated by privately expressed 'needs.'" (It is not obvious to me how this explains the *reduction* in growth of medical services as a result of nationalization; nor why, more generally, the National Health Service should be assumed to have an irrational structure.)

THIS EXAMPLE illustrates what I believe to be the major deficiency of the school: the failure to search for empirical tests of the new theories. Presumably Buchanan does not believe that socialization of an activity always lowers its scale in a dramatic fashion, and a theory which told us when socialization of an activity increased or decreased its scale would invite empirical tests.

The 23 essays cover a wide variety of questions in public policy: fiscal policy, debt structure, tax burden and public expenditure (including two essays on military conscription). The essays are almost unfailingly unconcerned with formal theory, are usually methodologically self-conscious, and are intended only for specialist readers. These specialist readers, however, will inevitably widen their horizons as they read these fresh and irreverent re-examinations of ancient questions. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

JAMES, by Peggy Miller (St. Martin's Press, 344 pp., \$12.95). "I have seen the King of England many times and freely, and I must tell you, Monseigneur, the high opinion I have formed of him. He appears thoroughly sensible, equable and gentle, loving virtue and religious principles, by which he wishes to rule his conduct." Thus Archbishop Fénelon, the great Quietist churchman, began a rapturous description of the altogether decent, deserving de jure King of England, James III. Seldom has the head of a royal house been so free of vices, so unfortunate in his choice of virtues, and so relentlessly pursued by bad luck. Like some somber royal bird of ill omen, he grew old and sickly in exile, watching his cause, and his personal life, gradually disintegrate around him. Unlike his grandfather, Charles I, public

martyrdom was not to be his lot. Instead, he underwent a long series of great and petty humiliations and sorrows, including the estrangement of his charming but neurotic Polish wife (who ended her days a slightly demented religious flagellant) and his son and heir, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," who, after a promising beginning, proved himself a besotted weakling and ingrate. In her competent, readable new biography, Peggy Miller would have us believe that, given half a chance, James would have made a good king, and one would like to agree. But when a man is as uniformly unlucky and misunderstood as James was, he must be doing *something* wrong. Perhaps it is just as well that the King never "enjoyed his own again" and had no chance to fail under his own steam. As it stands, he has left us the dignified example of a man of honor who lost everything dear to him but his conscience, and who endured it all, unflinchingly.

A. BAKSHIAN JR.

THE BIG FOUNDATIONS, by Waldemar A. Nielsen (Columbia University Press, 475 pp., \$10.95). The author would like the big foundations to organize their charity along lines he approves of—and what's more natural than that? So he writes a book that was financed by the Twentieth Century Fund and gives no space to an analysis of the work of that Fund—perfectly natural, what? And the lines he approves of are routine left-wing do-goodism. So what. But the alliteration is nice. Carnegie is the Emergence from Elitism. The Rockefeller philanthropies are a Formidable Fleet. Danforth and Kellogg are Fine but Flawed. The Du Ponts are Ducal. Fleischmann and Commonwealth are Intriguing Aberrations. In Pittsburgh who is it but the Middling Mellons? Yoicks.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEATH OF MISHIMA, by Henry Miller (Capra, 47 pp., \$2.75). What truly motivated Mishima Yukio's spectacular public suicide on November 25, 1970 will undoubtedly perplex and fascinate generations of his readers. Unfortunately, Miller's brief tract, originally published in the Japanese press, develops a secular, humorless, indulgently self-loving Mishima who must be taught, in a dream conversation with Miller after Mishima's death, a more cosmic, joyful feeling for life. David Brudnoy's review of Mishima's *Spring Snow* (NR, August 4, 1972) offered a far more persuasive view than Miller's—that Mishima's suicide resulted, not from an imaginative lack, but from his belief that "he had attained the height of [his] physical and literary development." The reader of Mishima suspects, moreover, a hidden depth of the religious in Mishima's devotion to Japanese tradition. He was a man who, dy-

namic, questing, gifted, yet strangely troubled, had perhaps, with the completion of his *Sea of Fertility* tetralogy, at last realized inner peace. His singular nature, his life and death, have at heart the mystery of his literature. In death he crafted a myth of his life, a legacy to both inspire and perplex those who would create a definitive history of Mishima and his age.

T. CRAWFORD

A STUBBORN CASE, by Charles Frankel (Norton, 251 pp., \$6.95). A professor accused of being a CIA agent; an AWOL soldier who seeks asylum in the auditorium; a William Sloane Coffin-type chaplain; a nebbish of a physics professor playing Great Compromiser; a university president being relevant; a student who just wants to learn; a teacher trying to teach; and a young Mme. Defarge busily directing the revolution while knitting—Need I go on? This book has all the ingredients of the usual campus-in-revolution yarn, but it's *good*. The author, a well-known and longtime teacher at Columbia, knows whereof he speaks; his book is fiction only in the way Jarrell's *Pictures from an Institution* is fiction.

P. C. SIMONDS

THE MASTER OF GO, by Yasunari Kawabata (Knopf, 188 pp., \$5.95). Like his younger colleague Mishima Yukio, Nobel laureate Kawabata killed himself (April 1972); like Mishima, he was a traditionalist grievously troubled by many aspects of modernity. In *The Master of Go*, published in 1954 but just now translated into English, this greatest of Japan's big three of twentieth-century letters describes a six-months-long retirement match which he had earlier covered as a journalist in 1938. The novella counterposes the younger generation's values, in the form of the aged Master's victorious thirtyish opponent, to the older ways: "The Master was plagued in his last match by modern rationalism, to which fussy rules were everything, from which all grace and elegance of Go as art had disappeared, which quite dispensed with respect for elders and attached no importance to mutual respect as human beings. From the way of Go the beauty of Japan and the Orient had fled. Everything had become science and regulation." A tour de force helpfully annotated by the translator, Michigan's Edward Seidensticker, Kawabata's book judiciously balances the two viewpoints, and makes a noble attempt to explain this highly abstract, extraordinarily subtle game for two players—more sophisticated than chess—fought with 361 white and black stones on a board of that many intersections, the object of which is to build up positions invulnerable to enemy attack, meanwhile surrounding and capturing enemy stones.

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

Arts & Manners

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

At the Mercer

It's an eccentric's mansion, winged crazily, north-east, west, south, south-east. Long corridors wind out, carpeted for silence, uninhabited; mysterious as a hotel floor at three in the morning. But go right, open a door—the coda of some quick revue turn comes drum-rolling to a stop at your feet; go left, open another door—a character is crawling on hands and knees toward violent, unwanted insights. The Mercer Arts Center: astonishing, surprise crammed. You suppose there are plays running in some attic that even Clive Barnes, even the management, hasn't heard about yet. Flies on the wall have their Equity chorus cards. Subcellar mice probably scamper a shuffle-off-to-Buffalo and pass the hat.

On any evening at the Mercer: five good plays; a cabaret with rock bands; a boutique; two restaurants; a videotape workshop; lectures. It's as though Lincoln Center had eaten the "small" edge of Alice's mushroom. Lincoln Center without the performing audience in mink and patent leather pretensions; without the architectural enormities that have made *théâtre concret*, theater concrete. An entire off-Broadway season at the Mercer, no taxi fares in between. Hit it at six-thirty; have no plans. Then go ticket window shopping. It's jolly, expectant, like the first class lounge at an airport.

Downstairs, the Kesey/Wasserman *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* and Arrabal's *They Put Handcuffs on the Flowers*. I've seen the Kesey. As for Arrabal: he attacked me once on the IRT, played siloogie with my copy of Sartre's *Existentialism*, yelling all the while, "No! No! Sartre, he is dead! Existentialism, he is dead!" I was a fresh-

man then. Freshmen tend to be vindictive: I've never forgiven Arrabal. I remember a shortish man with glasses and a frame beard over pink, vein-burst baby's cheeks. He had a 25-year-old middle-aged woman with him: some flunky provided for his Columbia lecture tour. She meant to be indispensable. When he yelled in French, she interpreted; when he yelled in English, she interpreted back into French—a consecutive translation ventriloquist, mustached upper lip moving, mumbly.



Arrabal—as he did chin-ups on the subway strap, insisting that I, too, with Sartre had passed away—was apparently her one contact with Art on the hoof. He wasn't going to escape, *éviter*, whichever. In any case *Handcuffs*, Arrabal's Grand Guignol torture talk on personal suffering under Franco's regime, didn't look to be my sack—if I had been Franco in that subway car . . .

I try *The Proposition* first. Someone hands me a checklist at the door. "Phobias, sports, hassles, book titles etc." Five talented young people improvise: part of a larger New York/Cambridge company that has toured America for years. They're very good—work together as smoothly as Frazier-Bradley on the give and go. Billing says, "The only completely improvised show." Not strictly true. They need set pieces, comic equations, values for X set by the audience. Give them "Dracula," "Sewing," "A Cold Toilet Seat," and they give you back an opera or a film that snaps from French to Italian to German to Swedish. The ground humor

—the givens they can count on—are operatic, filmic. Still, a soprano sings off the top of her head, "You must stop giving hickey to women, Dracula—" Dracula, a baritone, replies, also extempore, "I dream of a horrible world—everyone wearing turtle-necks." They are amazingly sharp, joyous. One suggestion was begged. "Give us a social issue." Some audience clown says, "Abortion!" They settled for birth control. Tactful. I guess you can't make abortion a joke. They must know. I leave after the first act, pleased. The Mercer is like a big fondue—dip your fork in all the sauces.

I second act *Hark!* Six talented young people here; two dozen numbers. Its themes are simple: loneliness, fear, mild social satire. *Hark!* is engrossing, on the way to a long run. And, for one moment, I want choreography in my life. The magic super-American world of musical comedy, where things work, gear and tooth, voices harmonize, dancers spin precisely off that X taped on the stage. The performers smile, smile: exuberant. I know it isn't really so. Actor A has upstaged actress B six shows running. Actor C has stolen Actor D's Number Four base make-up stick and squashed it. John Zeitgeist is sick to death of casts "listed in alphabetical order." Judy Ingenue flubbed a Kleenex commercial this morning—blew her nose in a linen handkerchief. Still this is our Druid rite. Sacred rings that sphincter out/in; rhythms that gin worry from the mind. A small epiphany, the best we can manage. I enjoy it.

NOW AND AGAIN I glance into the videotape workshop: eight TV sets, placed in two rows, someone's glossy store-bought teeth. Videotape is a booming business. It costs: probably two grand for a working unit. But you can erase the tapes. Great for those home movies where little Lois refused to do her ballet routine, flashes of tutu poking out from behind the sofa; where the Christmas day lighting was poor and your playroom looked like Hitler's bunker in the last fifteen minutes of World War II. The tapes I watch are tentative, very much like home movies: documentaries stuttered with . . . ers . . . uhs, and arty bits clumsily montaged. But the place is crowded. Videotapers rap, criticize. It's free. A service supplied by the Mercer (and the New York State Council on the Arts) to a new and perhaps important art technique. →

Ten-thirty. I see yet another play, *Bluebird* by Ted Menten, "The Story of a boy so beautiful he had to be kept in a cage." Yes. This one has its clientele. Many sailor suits in the audience. I suspect that—ah . . . a cruiser has docked nearby on West Fourth St. The boy, in jockey shorts, leaps from perch to perch, some great canary perhaps, whanging at the very substantial bars. His captor explains, "I'm not beautiful, not even ugly, I'm invisible." There's a reversal. A death. The metal work is brilliant. But iron bars, believe me, do not a play make.

Midnight. I've been entertained, fed for five hours plus. It's not free at the Mercer, far from free, but the place teems with theater and imagination. It's fecund, alive. □

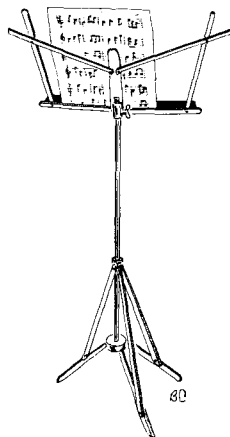
RECORDINGS

ROGER EVANS

Baroque in Bloom

Colin Davis seems to have in store a whole bag of pleasant surprises for the unsuspecting public. Given his marvelous opera conducting, his famous performances of orchestral works of Mozart and Berlioz, and his peerless recording of the *Messiah*, his versatility, at least, can hardly be questioned. More important, he manages each of these styles as though it were his specialty.

So it was with some curiosity that I approached his new recording of Henry Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* (Philips 6500 131). I was a bit skeptical that anyone could beat the recording of a few years back in which Janet Baker created her unforgettable *Dido*. But Mr. Davis has done it again. This is the most spectacular, the most musically sensitive, the most dramatically viable *Dido* yet. From the brilliant overture to the sinister sorcery scene, to *Dido's* lament and the closing fu-



neral chorus, the conductor's imagination and taste are consistently in evidence. With the exception of John Shirley-Quirk, his cast includes no Big Names, which (as often happens) may have been conducive to communication and stylistic control, and thus to the unity of the performance. One of the most gratifying surprises is John Constable's harpsichord and organ playing, which is a very model of "correct" but imaginative continuo playing.

If you don't know *Dido*, this recording is the ideal introduction to the most important of the very few operas in English. Composed for a Chelsea "school for young gentlewomen" in 1689, Purcell's masterpiece first saw daylight at a time when English opera didn't have a chance with the public—largely because of the excellence of the English theatrical tradition to which dramatic music had been only the handmaid; opera flourished in nations that boasted no Shakespeare, Jonson or Sheridan. If Purcell had lived a few years beyond his 36, he might have been able to begin a flourishing school of opera composition to match those of the Continent. We are, in any case, fortunate to have this one great English opera from the seventeenth century—and in such a superb performance.

I am one of the many who never expected to come upon a recording by the Concentus Musicus of Vienna that would be anything less than thrilling. The unexpected has unfortunately happened at the most disappointing moment possible: the long-heralded series of the "complete" Bach cantatas is begun, and none too well (Telefunken SKW-1/1-2). Many folks were horrified to hear that the Vienna Choirboys were being used for the chorus and solo parts, but then we've come to expect miracles from Nicolaus Harnoncourt and his amazing ensemble. Alas, even Herr Harnoncourt is able to get only very middling performances from these singers.

The shock, however, is in the playing of the orchestra. The Concentus has long been admired for their virtuosos, sensitive and idiomatic playing of eighteenth-century instruments. In this case, though, everything is overdone: one feels flogged by the exaggerated downbeats, the *pauses d'articulation* are yawning holes, and many *appoggiature* are ludicrously overdrawn.

Since the players of the Concentus



have been knocking themselves out for years to give us painstaking performances of Baroque music, their fans will be loath to give up on such a praiseworthy project as the Bach cantata series. We can take heart—they still have a couple hundred more cantatas to go!

THESE RECORDINGS, the Purcell and the Bach, are illustrative of some very encouraging developments in performance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music. Careful Baroque performance practice has long been the preserve of a determined few who were quite outside the mainstream of the musical world. It is, therefore, a cause for celebration that a young musical superstar like Colin Davis makes it his care to turn out a stylistically convincing performance of a work like *Dido*. Although, unlike Concentus Musicus, he uses modern instruments, he has obviously learned much from the good example of specialists like them, and—in this instance—was able to create a more satisfying performance. □

PLACES

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Imperial Vienna

If fifteen trips to Europe in the past nineteen years qualify me to express an opinion—and they ought to—I think Vienna is being neglected. We are subjected to an unremitting barrage of come-hither propaganda about London, Paris, Rome, Athens . . . you name it. The mind's eye is surfeited with remembered photos of that shakoed red-coat at Buckingham Palace, the Eiffel Tower looming over the City of Light, the chaste white ruins in the Roman

Forum, the Parthenon on its rocky hill. But say "Vienna" and what springs instantly to mind? Probably not much, and that's a pity.

No doubt it has to do with the practical economics of travel advertising. No transatlantic carrier, American or European, flies nonstop from New York to Vienna. Besides, Vienna lies relatively far away to the east—at the easternmost end of Austria itself—and so the air fare sounds, and is, somewhat higher than the fare to London or Paris. Far easier, Madison Avenue must have reasoned, to lure Americans to one of the latter first; then, if they want to fly that extra couple of hours, let them.

The sad result is that, being more or less other-directed in the matter of leisure travel, comparatively few Americans ever get to Austria at all, and still fewer reach Vienna. I know a New York couple who have skied in the Tyrol every winter for the last fifteen years, but have yet to see the capital of Austria. This sort of thing has got to stop.

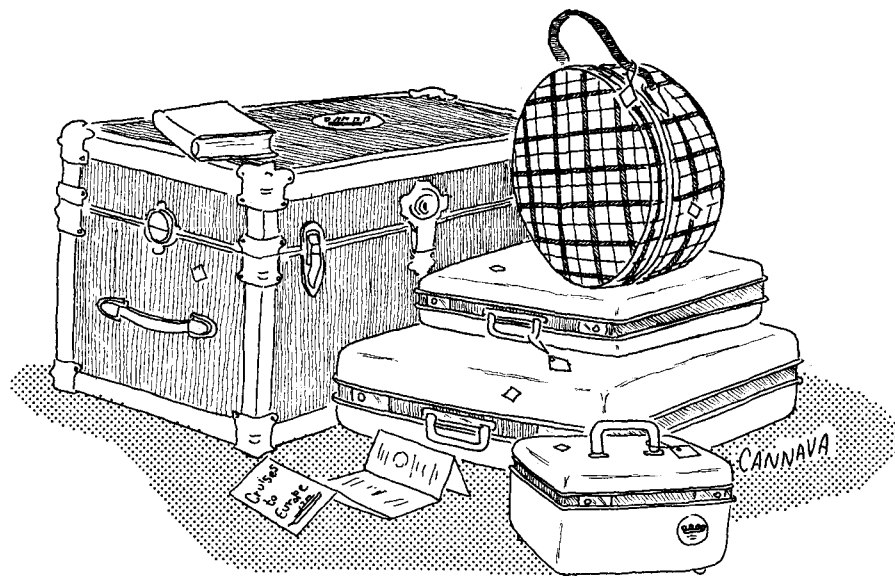
Vienna . . . What a wealth of connotations that magic old name should bring to mind! Ancestral home of the Hapsburgs, capital of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that succeeded it, Vienna has over the centuries nurtured an impressive share of the cultural heritage of Western civilization. In music it simply has no equal: Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms; dare I mention, in such stratospheric company, Johann Strauss?—all found encouragement and a home in this discerning city. It is also, thanks to Freud, the birthplace of modern psychiatry. In medicine, architecture and a score of other disciplines its name can be found at or near the head of every list.

At the moment, of course, Vienna suffers from its sharp decline in political importance during the past fifty years. For centuries it was the capital of an empire whose possessions bestrode and often dominated the map of Europe: even today, there is an astonishing sweep to the majestic titles of the eighteenth-century Empress Maria

Theresa: "Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Bohemia, Queen of Hungary, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Stadtholder of the Netherlands." But if Vienna today is only the capital of the Republic of Austria, it never for a moment lets the visitor forget its former greatness. Of all the world's cities, only two others—Rome and London—so instantly proclaim in their architecture that they were once the capitals of mighty empires. Central Vienna—that maze of

nese *objets d'art* which were in her day just making their way to Europe.

When you tire of sightseeing, Vienna at night will enthrall you: those ancient streets still boast many a magnificent restaurant (have you ever tried a *Sachertorte*, or nibbled a hard-boiled quail's egg?). And there are scores of lively cafes, which the Viennese themselves—so much warmer and friendlier than their Germanic cousins to the north—seem to prefer, now that the



cobblestoned streets within the Ringstrasse, the circular boulevard built by Franz Josef on the site of the old city wall—encloses or borders some of the most imposing architecture on earth: the great Hofburg, palace of the emperors; Stephandom, the magnificent Gothic cathedral in the very heart of this bastion of Baroque; the Austrian Parliament; the Rathaus, or City Hall; the great museums of art and natural history; churches and separate palaces too numerous to mention.

IN THE Kaisersgruft, or Emperors' Crypt, of the Capuchin Church lie 142 members of the House of Hapsburg, including nine emperors. Here is the dual sarcophagus of Maria Theresa and her beloved Francis I; there, the majestic pewter coffin of her great-great-grandson, old Franz Josef. Only five miles away is Schloss Schonbrunn, summer palace of the imperial family, obviously modeled on Versailles and comparable only to it. The touch of Maria Theresa is everywhere here, and nowhere more so than in the series of exquisite "Chinese rooms," designed to reflect the Chinese influence and display the Chi-

justly famed coffee houses are gone. Finally (and what a "finally"!), there are the State Opera, the Vienna Philharmonic, the world-renowned Boys' Choir, and the pure white Lippizaner stallions going through their stately paces like an equine ballet.

OR GO—as I did, one warm and hazy Sunday afternoon in July—northward out of the city to Cobenzl, on its hilltop amid the Vienna Woods, and enjoy a fresh white Austrian wine as you gaze down at the Danube, sweeping past Vienna in a gentle curve on its way to Budapest, Belgrade and the Black Sea.

The world, I predict, has not heard the last of imperial Vienna. This grand old city is too clearly the heart and head of the old Danubian confederacy to remain forever merely the capital of little Austria. One day, when the fever of rival nationalisms has subsided among the peoples of central Europe, they will return to her natural leadership. And then Vienna will justify anew her grandeur and her undiminished beauty, and resume her rightful place as one of the central glories of mankind. □

D. Keith Mano trouped with the prestigious Marlowe Society in England. . . . **Roger Evans** has an insatiable appetite for baroque and earlier music. . . . **W. A. Rusher** denies that he lives in an airplane.

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This book brings back the days when "His Rivrence" ruled the roost.

by TOM McHALE

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EVANS

(Continued from page 1244)

up ten years' service in the Colorado legislature.

Four-term veteran Clinton Anderson has at last retired, and **New Mexico** Republicans are hopeful they can break a prolonged drought in the Senate. The candidates are Jack Daniels, Democrat, and Pete Domenici, Republican, and observers say the contest is a toss-up. No change is expected in the two-man House contingent, which is divided between the parties. A Republican pickup is anticipated, however, in **Arizona**, where reapportionment has spawned an additional House seat. The Republican hopeful is State Senator John B. Conlan, a firm conservative with obvious potential for leadership in the nation's capital. There are no major statewide races in Arizona.

Utah's Democratic Governor Calvin Rampton is going for an unprecedented third term, and the political analysts say he will be successful. Both Utah House seats are marginal, and 1st CD Democrat Gunn McKay could conceivably fall to Republican Robert Walthius. **Nevada** might return a Republican congressman, too, thanks to Democrat Walter Baring's defeat in the primary. Baring is the most conservative of non-Southern Democrats, and if enough of his followers defect to Republican David Towell the GOP could come out ahead.

California, as usual, is the principal focus of West Coast interest, despite the fact that it has no major statewide elections. The Golden State has picked up five new House seats through reapportionment, touching off a political game of musical chairs. Some familiar right-wing names—John Rousselot, Del Clawson, Barry Goldwater Jr.—will be back, but others will not. John Schmitz, of course, was defeated in the Republican primary and H. Allen Smith is retiring. Some not-so-conservative congressmen are also in trouble. GOP Representative William Mailliard (6th CD) is in a close race, and super-dove Paul McCloskey (17th) could find his seat in jeopardy. McCloskey survived the Republican primary only because two opponents split the conservative vote, and faces a write-in campaign for Nixon Republican Gordon Knapp. Possible Republican gains in the state include the 31st CD (Ben Valentine), the 34th (John Raterree), the 36th (William Ketchum), and the 42nd (Clair Burgener). State Representative Carlos

Moorhead is favored to retain the 20th CD (Pasadena), vacated by Smith, for the Republicans.

If you are a conservative in **Oregon**, your best available option this time around is to vote no for the U.S. Senate. The choice in this particular race is between Republican Mark Hatfield and Democrat Wayne Morse, candidates so identical in every important respect that it is impossible to distinguish the original from the Xerox. No changes are looked for in the House. Meanwhile, up north in **Washington**, Republican fortunes are hanging by a slender thread. Governor Daniel Evans, a GOP liberal, has hiked state taxes and could fall to former Democratic Governor Albert Rossellini. The state has only one Republican congressman, Thomas Pelly, who is retiring. His expected successor is liberal GOPer Joel Pritchard. A possible turnover is the 4th CD (Yakima) where Evans' legislative lieutenant Stewart Bledsoe is the Republican candidate, and conservative

THIS SPACE CONTRIBUTED BY THE PUBLISHER

Would you rather not know these 7 warning signals?

1. Unusual bleeding or discharge.
2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere.
3. A sore that does not heal.
4. Change in bowel or bladder habits.
5. Hoarseness or cough.
6. Indigestion or difficulty in swallowing.
7. Change in size or color of a wart or mole.

If a signal persists for 2 weeks, see your doctor without delay. Because many cancers are curable if detected and treated early.

It's up to you, too.

American Cancer Society

R. C. McConkey is a long shot in the 3rd (Olympia).

Alaska's incumbent Republican Senator Ted Stevens, a liberal on many issues but an ardent foe of gun control, will be back in January. There are no big contests in Hawaii, but Republicans are running hard against Representatives Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Mink, teeing off on the West Coast dock strike and Harry Bridges' ILWU. Matsunaga's opponent, State Senator Frederick Rohlfing, has an outside chance of victory. □

VAN DER KROEF

(Continued from page 1246)

able alliances—they all may seem attractive to one confronted, as Mr. Nixon is, with the rigidities of the Vietnam or Arab-Israeli dilemmas, or with the legacy of the inexorable Communist confrontation. But the power game with wild cards dooms us to both unprincipled pragmatism and everlasting uncertainty, neither of which seems a sound basis for a foreign policy, let alone for a "generation of peace."

The SEATO mechanism, then, remains essential, and not just for the region. It also continues to be the means by which the U.S. retains significant leverage in Southeast Asia. No realistic diplomacy, even one which seeks to make a virtue out of the vice of the current American state of *je-m'en-foutisme*, could throw such leverage away.

Perhaps the example of SEATO's currently "dormant" members is most instructive in this connection. The most common criticism of SEATO is that at least two members, France and Pakistan, have allegedly all but withdrawn. Granted both are inactive, yet they have never been able to bring themselves to break with the organization.

French personnel still serve with SEATO, Pakistan still participates in SEATO's military advisory system and retains one of the organization's technical training centers, both countries continue to benefit from its counterinsurgency services, and so on. SEATO's opposition to Chinese Communist subversion is a good deal less unpopular in Rawalpindi today than some years ago, now that Pakistan herself, through the Pakistani-controlled part of Kashmir, has become the target of Chinese subversion. "We are detecting a distinctly more hospitable attitude at the moment," one SEATO counterinsurgency specialist said to me of Pakistan's current attitude. "As for the French, who can tell?" Just so. Is the Quai d'Orsay trying to tell SEATO's critics something? □

GOLD

(Continued from page 1248)

Charles Guggenheim, producer of the Kennedy epics and, more lately, the packaged television life of George McGovern. Why, John Lofton wanted to know a few weeks ago, did Guggenheim's half-hour opus omit more than a decade in the Democratic candidate's hegira to Greatness? Specifically, the eleven years during which McGovern, according to his authorized biography, was intellectually, emotionally and politically committed to Henry Wallace?

Quoting from *Monday*, October 9, 1972:

"'I don't know,' Guggenheim replied (long pause) '... talk to the man who wrote it.' When informed that his production manager earlier in the day had said that the omission was a 'creative decision' that [Guggenheim] was 'responsible for,' Guggenheim hung up the phone. Monday then called back eight times only to have the phone hung up each time after one ring. On the ninth call, the phone rang over fifty times, then was answered by Guggenheim and the dialogue was as follows:

"Guggenheim: 'Captain Dougherty, Third Precinct.'

"Monday: 'Captain Dougherty, I'd like to speak to your superior to complain about you taking so long to answer your phone. This could have been an emergency and a matter of life and death.'

"At this point, Guggenheim hung up again."

Melancholy and ***** for Democrats, yes; but somewhere, Herbert Hoover has got to be smiling. □

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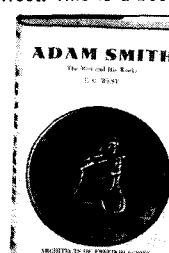
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[Walter] Trohan:

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(Actual title of the column was "Liberals Should Heed Criticism.")

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 1218)

In 1970, HEW reported that particles in the air originating from motor vehicles constitute 4 per cent of the total. Of that 4 per cent, one-third is lead.

The level of airborne lead considered safe for the environs of lead-smelting facilities is 200 mg./cu. m. Why has the EPA set an arbitrary standard of .01 of that concentration as a maximum for our health?

It has been reported in *Automotive Engineering Magazine* that a seventy-year-old man living in a U.S. city will have breathed in only enough lead in his lifetime to form a small BB.

PPG industries has perfected an exhaust filtration system. This low-cost device would completely eliminate the particulate emission of motor vehicles (if indeed it is the hazard it's cracked up to be) without lead removal.

b) I will be happy to introduce Mr. Tom to the inventor and president of the corporation that has developed the muffler referred to in my article. I will leave it to him to judge whether "suppression" or apathy has kept this development from the market.

c) Mr. Tom has ironically equated octane number with aromatics and their evaporation. American Oil has for years been marketing unleaded gasoline in the

East at 100-plus octane; substantially higher than the 91 he considers safe. Tests on new engines run exclusively with 91 no-lead fuel show that to maintain satisfactory performance, octane must be increased to at least ninety-six. Evaporation will definitely be a problem.

d) The impact on industry will extend to the very fiber of our nation's resources and capacity to maintain its existence. The additional gasoline required as a result of lower mileage will strain our already insufficient crude-oil supplies.

Mr. Tom says there is no proof that removing lead will worsen pollution. He also concedes that removing it won't necessarily let us live longer. Therefore, I will reiterate the title of my article: "Why Get the Lead Out?"

New York, N.Y.

ARTHUR GERUNDA

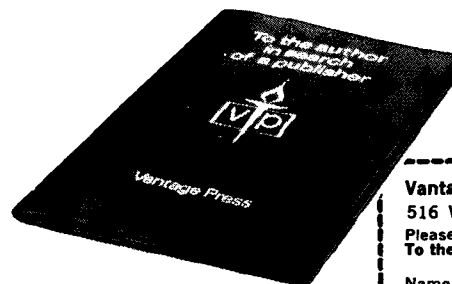
Enough's Enough

I must confess that *NR's* continuing series of hoaxes is getting to be more than I can handle. The satire on polls by Dennis Fagan ["How Does Youth Think?," Sept. 15] was quite delightful, if somewhat transparent. However, your fabricated letters to the editor on the subject of that article very nearly fooled me. The first time I read the letters allegedly written by "Raymond G. Sweeney" and "Peter Meis" ["Letters," Oct. 13] I actually thought they were genuine.

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Impasse on the Schools

New York, Oct. 16—Last week the Supreme Court, with something very much like a yawn, affirmed the decision of the lower court, which refused Ohio the right to pass along money to the private, church-related schools on the grounds that what Ohio was up to was circumvention. As a matter of fact, that is exactly correct. The Supreme Court has during the past few years honed its fanatical construction of the First Amendment into a fine blade, which cuts through any attempt by any accumulation of parents, priests, ministers, rabbis, school boards or legislatures to stitch together a plan that provides parents with fundamental freedoms to organize their own schools with some reference to religious principle.

Who says A, the philosophers never tire of reminding us, must say B. If it is true that it is a violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution to allow a tax dollar to end up at a parochial school no matter how circuitous the route, then it is true that Ohio has no business permitting parents of private school children to receive the little \$90 annual subsidy the legislature of Ohio thought to return to them, in modest compensation for their saving the taxpayers of Ohio the approximately \$1,000 per student annual tuition they'd have cost the state by attending the public schools. The decision of last week disposes of most of the public intentions of prominent American politicians for relieving the religious schools of their plight. George McGovern backed, in effect, an extension of the Ohio plan. So did Richard Nixon. So did Nelson Rockefeller. Well, it's gone now. Where do we go from here?

PROFESSOR Roger Freeman of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University has been arguing for a very long while a distinction he considers constitutionally crucial. He says: the Supreme Court insists that once a dollar has slipped into the public treasury, you can never get it out for use by a religious-oriented school without constitutional cavil. The only way to do it is to grant the relief before the dollar becomes public property. I.e., before it is taxed.

And the way to do that, obviously, is by tax remission.

The courts appear to be hospitable to the argument. In the 1970 (*Waltz*) decision arguing against direct subsidies, the court said that "Obviously a direct money subsidy would be a relationship pregnant with involvement." On the other hand, "The grant of a tax exemption is not sponsorship since the government does not transfer part of its revenue to churches but simply abstains from demanding that the church support the state."

THE GOOD news is that Wilbur Mills caught the signal and though two years ago he was in the Oval Office of the White House pounding his fist in disapproval of the notion of tax remission, this year, *mirabile dictu*, he emerges as the sponsor of a bill which would provide relief for the private schools by exactly that expedient. The Congress will close momentarily, and it is unlikely that it will vote during this session on the Mills bill, but particularly after the Ohio rejection of last week, it looms as the last hope this side of a constitutional amendment. Essentially, the bill would grant a straightforward tax credit (\$200 is the figure they speak about) to any parent who sends his child to a private school. There are any number of variables, i.e., will it be \$200 per child no matter how many children; does the tax credit inure even to the benefit of rich parents—and so on. But the principle is comfortably lodged. If it is constitutional for the Congress to say that Mr. Jones' gift of \$100 to his church decreases his adjusted gross taxable income, then why can't Congress say that Mr. Jones' expenditure of \$500 for his son's education at St. Bartholomew's decreases his tax bill by two hundred dollars? Who says A must say B. If Congress can constitutionally permit tax deductions for religious gifts, why not tax credits for religious expenses?

We shall see. Mr. Nixon and Mr. McGovern should be asked to give their positions on the matter. Their rhetoric and their analysis would argue their support for the Mills bill. But ask them anyway. Get it on the record. Mean-

while, about two private schools per day are closing for lack of funds. And taxes increase, as the students go to the public schools. And the frustration mounts. □

THE DECLINE OF PATRIOTISM

New York, Oct. 22—It is a cliché that patriotism has become a dirty word.

There are two reasons for it, one of them understandable. It is true that the invocation of the love of country is often associated with someone who is really engaged in shilling an audience into a nefarious enterprise. This was done on a grand scale during America's brief adventure in jingoism. And it is done by individual charlatans when they seek to distract attention from what it is they are actually up to.

BUT the more recent assaults on patriotism aren't based on a *posteriori* indictments, reasoning from the obnoxious character of the America-booster on over to the obnoxious character of what it is that he is boosting. The attack, led as usual by the intellectuals, is both on the concept of patriotism, and on the qualifications of the United States to be loved. The internationalists have for quite a while now confused patriotism with nationalism, and they therefore despise patriotism as the fuel of imperialism and isolationism. Others simply say that America isn't worth it— isn't worth the devotion of its subjects. Edmund Burke said that a country to be loved must be lovely. That isn't in fact true. There are people who love Uganda and South Africa. But it is worth exploring, in an age when people are pretty mobile, whether America is straining the bonds that attach people to her. I think it is happening, though not for the reasons most generally adduced.

We know, for instance, that a lot of young men left the country during the height of the Vietnam season. Let us assume that a generous proportion of these were simply avoiding the risks of war, and would have left the country

rather than fight against the devil. But we must also assume that a proportion of them left in principled opposition to a war they did not understand, that issued from a foreign policy they neither understood nor agreed with.

Are there others? I believe so. Garry Wills used the irreplaceable phrase to describe that which makes society cohere, "the bond of social affections." Our bond of social affections is weakening for some of the best reasons, secular and non-secular.

Concerning the former, it is increasingly true that the attitude of the people who run the government is that Americans are in all economic matters, the wards of the state. I do not think it ever occurred to George McGovern, for instance—and it doesn't occur to Nixon all that often—that it is an awful presumption for the state to reach into the life of the average citizen in the way that is generally sanctioned by the socialist communities. The average American spends forty hours a week working. During that time he accumulates his pittance, or his millions. Some of it needs perforce to be taxed to run corporate enterprises that only the state can feasibly administer. But the arguments generally accepted in Congress these days do not acknowledge the presumption against taking money from the people for purposes wildly unrelated to the survival of society. George McGovern talks about people's earnings as though the earnings were ours at his sufferance. In an age in which the liberty a typical man exercises is primarily economic (how many hours a week does the average person spend exercising his freedom of speech?), the impositions of the socialists mean a very great deal, and necessarily weaken the fundamental attachments of a citizen to his country.

THERE IS something more important even than this that is straining the bonds of common affection. The final commitments of individuals are always eschatological commitments, commitments to end-purposes in life. To love of family, to redemption, to transcendence. There is a special kind of impiety abroad, and the top of the iceberg is the religious, or more properly the anti-religious, joke. A magazine, available on the newsstands, features a blasphemous, altogether vile caricature of the Incarnation by which the Christian community is guided, and inspired. I wrote once that no one should be permitted to put on a Broadway musical on the theme of Buchenwald, pointing out that to do something that insensitive at the expense of the Jewish people is to cut bonds of affection to one an-

other in so decisive a way as to make us strangers to ourselves.

By the same token, sacrilegious assaults on each other wound perhaps irreparably. In this connection, the Supreme Court recently ruled against a California expedient which would have allowed state money to go to individual parents for their use in schools of their choice for their children. If church and state are to be separated to that extent, then the society that asks us for patriotic attachments to it has singularly less appeal than once it had. Surely a generous gesture by everyone involved would be a constitutional amendment restoring the right of people to patronize religious schools. But, above all, the spirit of generosity, of recognizing the central place of the individual and his trans-social affections, is needed. To strengthen the kind of patriotism which does cause countries to be lovely. □

MR. McGOVERN ON CRIME

New York, Oct. 26 — Senator George McGovern has discovered crime. To the considerable relief of his staff, his conclusions about crime in America are that there is too much of it, not too little of it, and to the relief of the rest of us, he has not yet blamed crime in America on the Vietnam war. What he does want to do, one gathers from his rather vague references to the subject, is to have Washington instruct the cop on the beat how to stop crime. As he put it, to "strengthen the capability of the police."

Actually, the police are pretty capable as they are. Sure, we need more capable police even as we need more capable presidential candidates. But the problem isn't so much the police. Commissioner Patrick Murphy of New York City gave a resonant speech on the subject last winter. He was addressing the Bar Association of the City of New York and he used very direct language. He said: "This court system is in bankruptcy. It simply doesn't work. You all know this, I am not telling you anything new." The courts, he continued, must bear "the giant share of the blame for the increase in crime."

Commissioner Murphy ran his fingers over the ugly profile . . . "In 1960 the New York City Police Department made 35,629 felony arrests. Last year we made 94,042 felony arrests. Exactly 552 of them went to trial, 552 out of 94 thousand." What happened to all the others? "The rest of them were quotes, disposed of. Disposed of means dismissed outright, reduced to misdemeanors via plea-bargaining, reduced to lesser

felonies via plea-bargaining." And so on.

Now why has the court system broken down? In part, to be sure, because in our licentious age, there are more lawbreakers than ever. But there is also less punishment than ever, and the reason for this is that the Supreme Court under Earl Warren, by the narrowest margin, bequeathed us with interpretations of the Fourth, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments which positively leer at law enforcement. Even so friendly an observer of the Supreme Court as the *New York Times'* Fred Graham, acknowledges the correlation between the critical Warren Court decisions, and skyrocketing crime.

RECENTLY in California the police honed in on a suspected dope-peddler, and kept his house under surveillance. In due course the woman of the house threw out her trash, which was picked up by a truck. The police stopped the truck, inspected the trash, and found there narcotics debris—half-smoked marijuana cigarettes etc. They arrested the guy, he moved to suppress the evidence and, you guessed it, following one of the Warren decisions (*Mapp v. Ohio*), the California courts ordered the case dismissed. Because searching the discarded trash without a warrant was a violation of the dope peddler's Fifth Amendment rights.

Now that case is being appealed by the State of California to the Supreme Court, which has granted certiorari (*Calif. v. Krivda*). I'd like to know: How does Candidate McGovern stand on the issues? Richard Nixon has certainly not stopped crime in America, but he has sent to the Supreme Court two realists who will almost certainly vote in a direction other than *Mapp*, or *Miranda*: in the direction of return to effective justice. In the direction, if you prefer, of Justice Cardozo, who on one famous occasion reminded us that the purpose of a trial is to determine whether or not the accused is guilty, rather than whether the constable has blundered.

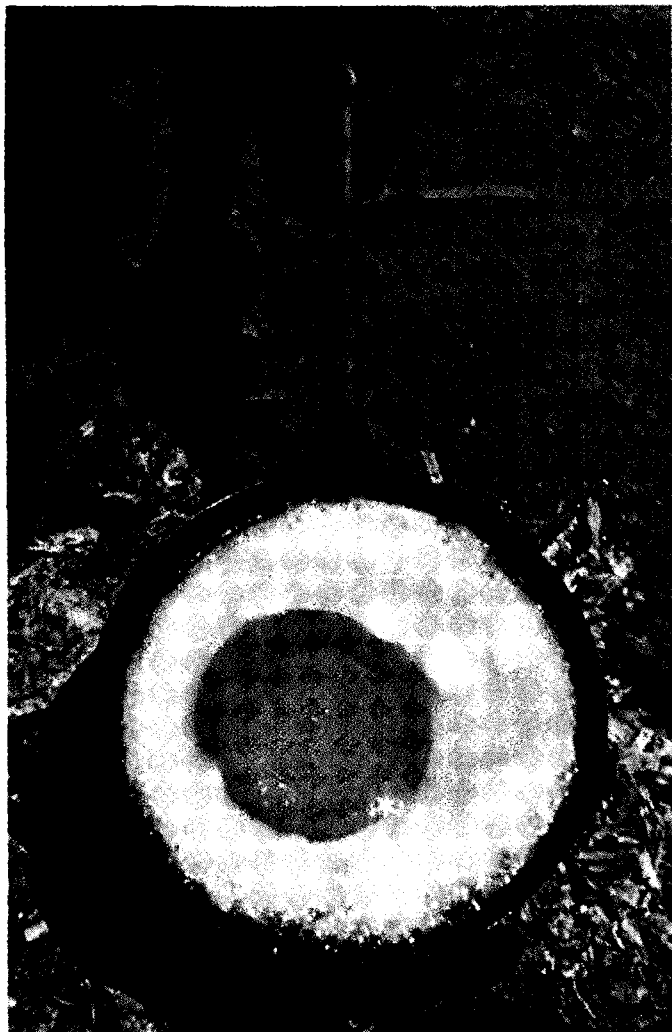
Would the nominees of President McGovern to the Supreme Court treat the narrow and disabling decisions of Messrs. Warren, Douglas and Clark as aberrations, as grains of sand to be removed from the judicial gears? Or would they leave them there, and throw in a little more for good measure?

Bluntly said: Would he appoint men like Rehnquist to the Supreme Court or men like Ramsey Clark? My guess is that the next time the lady throws out the trash at the Krivda house it will include narcotics debris and McGovern stickers. □

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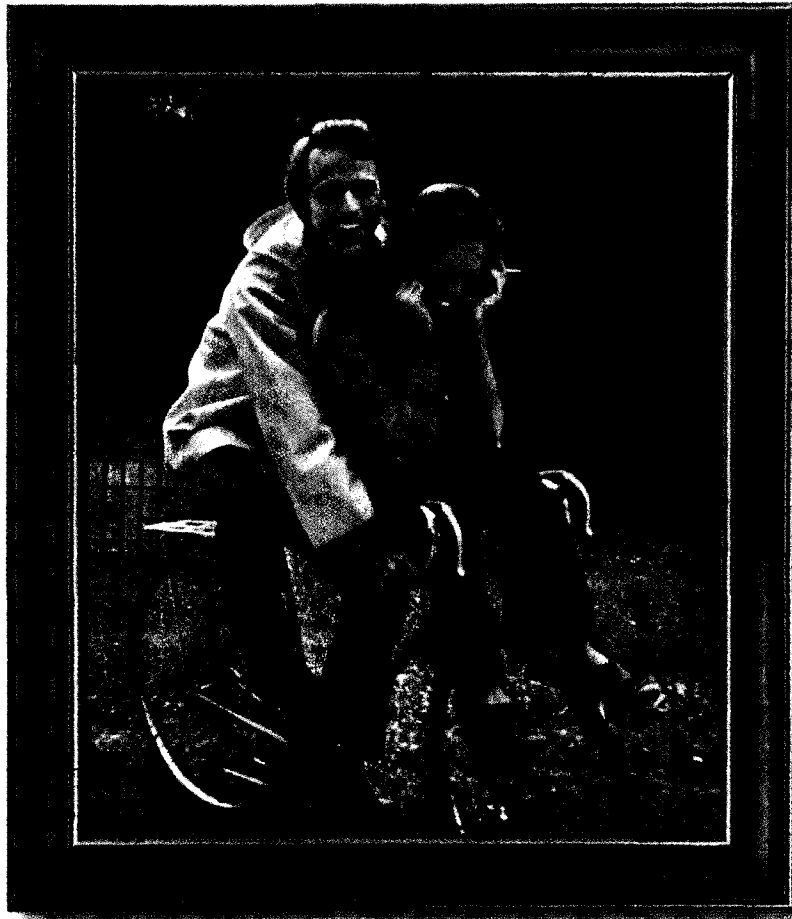


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